Metapragmatics in the Foreign Language Classroom

Thesis

presented to the Faculty of Arts

of

the University of Zurich

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Accepted in the spring semester 2011 on the recommendation of
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ZSUZ Universitätsdruckerei, Zurich, 2011

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people who have supported me throughout this research project. First of all, I wish to express my special thanks to my supervisor, Professor Andreas H. Jucker. His thought-provoking and critical input in my process of defining the nature of research into metapragmatics, contributed enormously to the quality of data analysis and general argumentation. In addition, he encouraged me to stay on track even in difficult times. In fact, discussions with him about the data to be analysed were "meta" at its best.

I would also like to thank David Roscoe for the careful proofreading of my writing. He is a perfectionist when it comes to the English language, and has a critical eye for stylistic improvements second to none.

In addition, a special thanks also goes to my "buddies" in the local Glarnerland area. My enthusiasm about this study sometimes degenerated into a tale of woe and my friends could probably recite it off by heart. Thanks to them for lending a sympathetic ear whenever it was needed.

Furthermore, research into classroom discourse would not be possible without interaction going on in the classrooms. Quite simply and addressing them directly: dear teachers and pupils, you have been wonderful in your co-operation with the research team. Thank you so much for opening the classroom doors for us.

And last but not least, I owe a great deal to my caring family, who have supported me in my academic ambitions both psychologically and financially. This study is dedicated to them; I cannot thank them enough.

May you all enjoy both the analysis of metapragmatics and, more generally, the classroom conversations presented to you. They are often most entertaining.

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List of tables, figures and extracts

Altogether, I have labelled 131 extracts from chapter 3 to chapter 11. In order not to use three-digit numbers for extract labels, I decided to start labelling from (1) in each chapter. Where references are made to extracts in previous chapters (especially when introducing a hierarchy of metapragmatic categories in chapter 10 or the conclusion in chapter 11), I have made it clear in which chapters these extracts are found. Additionally, I would like to emphasise that some extracts were analysed from different angles and thus are presented in different chapters. Therefore, some extracts are presented with different numbers in different chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Classroom Interaction and Beyond – "been there, done that?"

Classroom discourse analysis as the intersection of what has become known as SLA (for second language acquisition) and discourse analysis (DA) is undoubtedly a research field that has been approached in a variety of ways. Quite clearly, it would go beyond the scope of this introduction to dwell at length on the whole research tradition. However, I would like to draw attention to some of the approaches adopted in order to reconsider some relevant aspects that have and – more importantly – have not been "done" with reference to my introductory question in the title about "classroom interaction and beyond". In so doing, I will pave the way for my novel approach to classroom interaction and the research into what I will label "metapragmatics" – and this in the foreign language classroom.

An early research tradition primarily focused on what Boxer (2010: 196) calls "negotiated interaction" as a close and very systematic study of interactional patterns. This early, rather cognitive perspective, viewed the acquisition of a foreign language from a psycholinguistic point of view, with learners "traversing an interlanguage continuum that has, at its hypothetical end-point, the abstract notion of the idealised native speaker" (Boxer 2010: 196). Within the context of such early approaches, Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) seminal contribution to the recurring participation structure in the classroom, i.e. teacher-pupil exchanges following the Initiation-Response-Evaluation format (IRE), has indeed substantially influenced how language learning and narrative structures in the classroom were (and partly still are) viewed. Nevertheless, with the development of "Englishes" all over the world, and thus English being seen as a lingua franca that is increasingly spoken by non-native speakers, a social shift has taken place. This involves a perception of language learning with reference to a language user's identity, and examines what it means to learn English in a world of increasing globalisation (see e.g. Block 2003, *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*).

In addition, within the context of "streamlining" language lesson syllabuses, an increasing number of (such sociolinguistic) studies have devoted their prime attention to how certain didactic set-ups of classrooms or combination of languages of instruction may influence classroom interaction between teachers and pupils. Examples would be Krashen's reference to Canadian immersion programmes (1977, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1987), or more recent studies on

e.g. content and language integrated learning, i.e. CLIL, by Nikula (1997), or Marsh and Marsland (1999). Such studies, focusing on didactic set-ups of classrooms, often also make references to language politics and decision-making on certain classroom programmes outside the immediate interaction in the classroom. This didactically-oriented classroom research differs from the above-mentioned field of closer studies on linguistic patterns and also the focus of this study in one particular way. It primarily interprets interaction from a language learning perspective. In other words, the crucial question to be asked in didactic approaches to the classroom is what programmes produce the best results, i.e. can best enable pupils to learn a language (with reference to my setting, the foreign language). Having said that, I should make it clear that this is not going to be where the focus of this study lies.

I have indicated above that it is not my intention to give a comprehensive overview of research into second language acquisition and language learning within the context of discourse analysis. However, the fairly broad references to an early psycholinguistic approach and the social turn in the research field still make us realise that many researchers have looked at a variety of aspects in analysing classroom interaction. Thus, going back to the provocative question raised in the title, a lot of people have actually "been" to a considerable number of interesting research aspects and "done" a lot of research on a continuum from cognitive perspectives to socially driven points of views.

Before examining my new approach to the classroom in more detail and describing an initial observation that triggered such an approach, I shall summarise how researchers have often approached the classroom context. Undoubtedly, research has frequently revolved around the close description of linguistic patterns from an external, i.e. descriptive, point of view, or else devoted itself to the analysis of influencing factors – such as organisation and set-up of lessons, pupils' language repertoires or political decisions – on the learning environment in class. The broader project that this study is based on actually zooms in on such influencing factors as well.

Harking back to the title, and especially the phrase "and beyond", I would like to highlight a certain lack of research that I noticed when studying my initial field notes of classroom observation in the English lessons described as my main linguistic data in more detail below. It must be stressed right from the start that such considerations are based on a close observation of classroom discourse outside the sociolinguistic approach mentioned above.

And yet – and this is why my focus broadens the field of research into classroom discourse – it must not simply be seen as an approach to classroom interaction dealing with the discourse patterns described above. In fact, my approach is probably best described as an extension of the close linguistic analysis of discourse patterns for a purpose that will be introduced in the next paragraphs.

In fact, I identified what I have termed different "layers" of interaction that somehow co-exist and sometimes surface when discussions revolve around which layer is being foregrounded at a certain moment of speaking. Incidentally, the term "layer" will be taken up again, as well as the initial difficulty of defining what lies at the heart of this observation. In doing so in the very last subchapter of this study (see chapter 11, i.e. 11.5), I am making a particular effort to use Goffman's *Frame Analysis* (1974) to "frame" the whole study from initial excitement about this data to a final satisfying reappraisal of the results presented.

Returning to these "layers", I realised that, for example, talking about a fictional course book story of teenagers on the river Thames or pupils' activities at 10.45am cannot possibly be seen as the same "kind" of layer as the teacher's explanation of the past continuous form or her clarification of the word *tour guide*. Is this a question of "been there, done that", with reference to the two major research strands in classroom interaction mentioned above? I think not.

This study focuses precisely on the interplay of such discourse "layers" and does so with a narrow linguistic perspective. It should therefore not be seen as breaking with traditional approaches of close analysis of classroom interaction described above. When introducing my categorisation system in chapter 4, I will show that, indeed, such interplay and interrelationship of discourse levels can only be studied thoroughly by means of the traditional method of looking at turn-taking in class. Thus, it will be my aim to keep the analysis of classroom levels or "layers" (defined more closely below) in the context of teacher-pupil interaction. My approach will therefore encompass describing this context carefully with tried and tested tools, as it were (organisation of turns, overlaps, language choices, etc.). I will, however, do so in order to stress a demarcation line in classroom interaction on which my whole research hinges.

I would like to suggest the core distinction which, as far as discourse analysis in combination with a focus on the interplay of various interactional floors is concerned, cannot be found explicitly in literature yet. The discussion about the above-mentioned fictional course book story of teenagers on the river Thames and interaction revolving around what pupils were doing at 10.45am deals with classroom content that I will label the first level of discourse. By way of contrast – and this will represent the main (and novel) research focus in this study – there is a second level of interaction to be identified as well, a "metazone" of classroom interaction. I will show that the above-mentioned classroom explanation of the teacher on the grammar topic of past continuous or her clarification of the word *tour guide* actually take place in this "metazone", i.e. on a metalevel of interaction. I will develop a system of metapragmatics that clearly defines itself by going beyond the content level, i.e. first level of discourse. In addition, it will be my aim to introduce a system of metapragmatics consisting of more than discussions about grammar and vocabulary, although the focus on form (i.e. grammar), as well as the focus on meaning (i.e. vocabulary) are the most dominant categories identified. I will show that classroom norms are clearly negotiated on a metalevel of discourse too, and so are discussions that revolve around the function of previously uttered statements (categories will be introduced with examples in chapter 4). Additionally, I will also suggest that a system of metapragmatics in my classroom setting would be incomplete without including yet another category. Teachers and pupils occasionally use certain aspects of language to play around with and achieve a particular effect on a metalevel as well.

Another "novel" perspective on the "metazone" in the classroom described above, must be stressed by introducing the most frequently used word in this study, i.e. the core focus of analysis, "metapragmatics". I will show in chapter 3 that the prefix 'meta' in literature has been (and certainly will be) used in various combinations and for various subject matters. Metapragmatics in the context of this study consists of two important aspects, i.e. "meta" and "pragmatics". Having referred to "meta" as opposed to the first level of discourse already, I would like to stress that "pragmatics" is used to indicate that the metalevel is actively established and used by interactants for various things. In other words, I will study this metalevel of discourse (with a carefully described categorisation system) and do so from a pragmatic point of view. Such metalevel will therefore be described "in collaboration" with traditional linguistic analysis of discourse (e.g. I referred to IRE turn-taking by Sinclair and Coulthard as one example above) in order to understand how it is introduced, checked on and possibly redefined during a classroom conversation. Before linking this novel perspective on

classroom discourse to my actual research interest and research questions, I would like to stress that the research strand on metapragmatics will be adopted in chapter 3 again and carefully distinguished from terms including the "meta" aspect, but without the pragmatic focus in the classroom context.

Owing to the lack of reference literature available for research into metapragmatics in a classroom setting, my initial research interest is to develop a functional categorisation of teachers' and pupils' interaction on a metalevel. It must be noted that the term "metafloor" will be used in the plural as well, suggesting that interactants have various metafloors available, i.e. their metapragmatic efforts fulfil various functions on a metalevel beyond the first level of classroom content.

Additionally, I will analyse six different classrooms (which will be introduced in 1.2 below and described in detail in chapter 2) at two places and will thus be particularly interested to find out how differently (or similarly) both teachers and pupils conduct conversations on a metalevel. I will also study carefully how interactants ensure successful communication on such a metalevel, and show that it is in fact not so difficult for teachers or pupils to identify what someone actually intends to do when moving to a metafloor (i.e. what function this person's metapragmatic effort has), but rather to identify a metapragmatic level in the first place. In other words, it cannot simply be assumed that teachers and pupils, at any time in class, find it very straightforward to identify a communicative partner's statement as being either uttered about the propositional level of classroom content or on the metalevel of discourse. A comment such as *there's something wrong*, may indeed revolve around the content of a story discussed in class or else hint at a grammar mistake and thus functions as an introduction to a grammatical metafloor (later to be labelled focus-on-form metapragmatics).

Finally, I will place a careful research focus on the interplay of metapragmatic categories in my system to find out if recurring patterns can be identified with reference to how teachers and pupils combine different metapragmatic efforts on the metalevel, i.e. beyond the first level of discourse.

1.2 Data and Approach

I shall present lesson extracts from two different places (Alpegg and Stätten) and three 8th grade secondary school English classes each. As two English lessons were recorded for each of the six classrooms and, unfortunately, there was a technical failure in one lesson, there is a total of eleven English lessons transcribed for the analysis according to the research interest highlighted above (chapter 2, i.e. framework of research, will provide detailed information).

I will adopt a qualitative approach to classroom metapragmatics. Instead of comparing numbers and suggesting a quantitative distribution of metapragmatic categories, I will choose lesson extracts according to how salient they appear for the presentation of my metapragmatic categories. This allows me to present each and every metapragmatic category in great detail. Comparing numbers in a limited set of data (i.e. eleven lessons) would not permit drawing the overall picture of metapragmatics tightly embedded in lesson sequences. This, however, is so crucial as the whole categorisation system has been developed very closely from the data recorded. Nevertheless, data analysis will show that it is still possible to make statements – and indeed this will be done – about how especially individual teachers apply metapragmatics and how different factors influence their preference for one or the other metafloor.

1.3 Structure

In chapter 2, I will provide the whole framework of research. This contains detailed descriptions of sites and classes, as well as information about the data collection process. In addition, I will describe the larger project this study is based on and give an overview of the eleven lessons studied in the analysis later on.

Chapter 3 presents the research field and gives an overview of the "meta-aspect" in literature. It introduces the concept of "meta" as having a long-standing tradition indeed outside the classroom perspective. References to related aspects will be made, although only to set the scene for "metapragmatics" in the tradition of Hübler and Bublitz (2007). Since most of the "meta" aspect found in literature does not pursue the classroom-pragmatic effect the two linguists clearly recognise, the chapter will be relatively short and to the point, in the interest of a concisely presented research focus.

In chapter 4, the categorisation system, as the heart of this research into metapragmatics, will be introduced. Owing to a lack of existing research into metapragmatics in the classroom setting, the system will be presented as emerging from the data as such. Consequently, especially one long lesson extract was chosen to substantiate the closeness to the data and the context of interaction. In addition, it shows that, within only one classroom sequence, various different forms of metapragmatics can be identified. Metapragmatic categories in this categorisation chapter and the following analysis chapters are discussed in the context of the lesson sequences they are taken from. Finally, I will refer to the quality of my categories and therefore present percentages of the final round of interrater reliability testing.

In chapters 5-9, each metapragmatic category will be discussed in detail. Metapragmatic elements will be presented and highlighted in selected classroom extracts, and context information regarding where they are taken from will be provided (i.e. which class, sequence in the lesson, set-up of the lesson, etc.). The analysis of each chapter will be followed by a summary in order to keep track of the relevant findings. Chapters 5 (i.e. metapragmatics on grammar) and 6 (i.e. metapragmatics on vocabulary) are longer than the remaining analysis chapters and therefore have been placed at the beginning of the analysis as the "weightiest" categories of all.

Chapter 10 is particularly important since it suggests a hierarchy of metapragmatic categories analysed and developed in the previous chapters. In addition, it carefully distinguishes between such hierarchy, depending on whether the teacher or the pupil initiates a metapragmatic floor.

In chapter 11, the final chapter, concluding remarks will be made and linked to the research questions that have driven this study. With these final statements, the scholarly merit striven for in this work will be made explicit. Furthermore, I will make suggestions as to how to continue doing research in classroom metapragmatics. This will include propositions on how to complete the material presented here by reconsidering what type of metapragmatic negotiation has actually been recorded within my technical set-up and what remains still to be gathered. Furthermore, I will emphasise the fact that the narrow focus on metapragmatics through the lens of classroom discourse analysis is indeed a crucial first step towards a thorough understanding of metapragmatics, but is not intended to be seen as a comprehensive look at both teachers' and pupils' use of metapragmatics in the foreign language classroom.

Chapter 2: Framework of Research

2.1 Sites and Classes

This study is to be seen within the larger frame of the nationally funded research project NFP56, entitled *Multilingualism, Identities and Language Learning in Swiss Classrooms and Communities*. The NFP research project consisted of various strands, of which I would like to zoom in on the one dealing with *identity formation and school language learning*. It must be noted, however, that I will focus closely on classroom interaction and adopt an applied linguistic position outlined in greater detail in chapters 3 and 4. A project description, as well as relevant publications, can be found online (http://www.nfp56.ch, listed in the group "Sprache und Schule").

Data was collected in a suburban community in the canton of Zurich, hereafter named Stätten, as well as a rural community in the canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden, which will be referred to as Alpegg. Stätten consists of a fairly high proportion of bilingual children with a migrant background, whereas in Alpegg, a more monolingual composition of the school population can be found. To provide the industrial context, it must be stressed that in Alpegg, about 16% of the labour force are employed in the primary sector of industry, compared with only 2% in Stätten. The more rural nature of Alpegg, compared with the more suburban atmosphere of Stätten, can also be shown with reference to their employment percentages in the tertiary sector (76.7% for Stätten, compared with 52.6% for Alpegg). Stätten, as an "edge city" and suburb of Zurich, has a population three times greater than that of Alpegg.

I would like to stress that the choice of sites must be seen as predetermined by the NFP project. Nevertheless, this will not affect the applied approach that I have adopted in this study. In other words, I will contrast the two sites on the basis of a closely determined linguistic set of criteria. The classroom data will therefore not be interpreted through the lens of the larger NFP-project. This is the reason why the above-mentioned "rural" or more "urban" characteristics of each site will not be taken into consideration when analysing the material from an applied linguistic perspective (defined in more detail in the relevant literature given in chapter 3, and introducing the categorisation system in chapter 4).

The choice of sites for the NFP project is based on the different endeavours undertaken to implement English at primary school level. It was the aim of the NFP project to analyse language policies on a macrolevel, school communities and pupils on a mesolevel, and finally the microdimensions of classroom interaction. Alpegg and Stätten therefore provide a valuable base for this comparative and contrastive, qualitative case study. The organisation of the school as an institution is similar at both sites and can be divided into elements on different research dimensions (**see bold for relevant data source for this study**).

- an educational department with a strategic supervisory board and administration (macrodimension)
- a school community with an extra-official head and "Schulpflege" (mesodimension)
- a school organisation into primary (6 years, pupils aged 7-12 years) and **secondary level (3 years, pupils aged 13-15 years) (microdimension)**

Two primary school classes and three secondary school classes at both sites were chosen for the NFP project. In this study, I will focus on the six secondary school classes. At secondary level, pupils are divided into different tracks according to academic ability and development potential (streaming, i.e. either track A, B or C). There is a limited degree of flexibility to move between the tracks, i.e. pupils can be relegated to lower-level tracks (C being the lowest), and – less frequently – upgraded to a higher level. At the end of year 8, pupils with the ambition to go on to tertiary education can take an exam to enter the so-called Gymnasium.

Prior to the first round of data collection, contact with schools was established via e-mail, as well as by personal meetings at the two sites. In March 2006, information meetings with the teachers and heads of the schools were held. Aim and goals were outlined, oral consent for data collection and collaboration with the classes was sought and general questions were answered. Additionally, teachers' timetables and class lists were collected and all participants agreed to remain in close contact until data collection started.

The classes in Stätten and Alpegg listed below were subject to data collection and project research. Classes **in bold** represent the data source for this study. Numbers indicate pupils who participated in the study and whose parents gave their written consent to having their child's data analysed in the NFP project.

The term "bilingual", in the right column, shows the number of pupils who regularly speak at least one language other than Swiss German at home. I am aware of the fact that literature interprets "bilingualism" in different ways and that a careful definition is absolutely crucial when carrying out research into multilingualism. As this is not the focus of my research in this study, I am using the term rather loosely here, and will not go into any more detail regarding the definition of bi- or multilingualism. Suffice it to say at this stage that I will address pupils' use of different languages in class as well, albeit with a focus on their communicative effect in the classroom. It must therefore be stressed from the start that there is no particular focus on the difference in classroom interaction between monolingual and bi/multilingual children in this study.

Stätten

Level/Grade	Class	All Pupils/Bilinguals
Primary/5	a[1]	19/11
Primary/5	b	19/15
Secondary/8	**A**	**16/8**
Secondary/8	**B**	**16/11**
Secondary/8	**C**	**13/13**
Overall NFP56		83/58
Overall current study		**45/32**

Table 1: Classes Stätten

[1] Lower-case letters denote two classes without any gradation, whereas capital letters indicate that there is a gradation in performance between A (strongest) and C (weakest).

Alpegg

Level/Grade	Class	All Pupils/Bilinguals
Primary/5	a	22/3
Primary/5	b	22/5
Secondary/8	**A**	**20/1**
Secondary/8	**B**	**21/0**
Secondary/8	**C**	**17/2**
Overall NFP 56		102/11
Overall current study		**58/3**

Table 2: Classes Alpegg

Before any material was collected, written consent was sought from the parents of pupils involved in the project. In a letter to the parents, the project aims and goals were communicated, as well as the support being given by the respective educational boards in Appenzell and Zurich. In four cases, parents refused to have their son/daughter participate in the project. Teachers, too, gave their written consent to the project plans.

2.2 Data Collected at Secondary School / Time Frame

In May and June 06, the lessons at secondary school were observed. The following tables give an overview of the lessons recorded at both sites in year 8 of secondary school (primary school data observation, which is not part of the corpus, is not included in the tables). It must be noted that only the lessons indicated **in bold**, i.e. all English lessons, are subject to further analysis for this research project. Reasons for this will be stated below.

Stätten

Level/Grade	Class	Lessons Observed
Secondary/8	A	**E1, E2**, F1, F2, D
Secondary/8	B	E1[2]**, E2**, F1, F2, D
Secondary/8	C	**E1, E2**, F1, F2, D
Overall lessons in year 8		**5 E**, 6 F, 3 D = 14 L.

Table 3: Lessons Stätten

Alpegg

Level/Grade	Class	Lessons Observed
Secondary/8	A	**E1, E2**, F1, F2, F3, D
Secondary/8	B	**E1, E2**, F1, F2, D
Secondary/8	C	**E1, E2**, D
Overall lessons in year 8		**6 E**, 5 F, 3 D = 14 L.

Table 4: Lessons Alpegg

French was not observed in class C of Alpegg as in classes B and C (i.e. "Realschule" compared with class A "Sekundarschule"), French is only a compulsory subject at grade 7 and becomes an elective subject for grade 8 and grade 9. In class B, only five pupils opted for French. In class C even, no one in Alpegg chose French as an elective. As a result, French lessons for grade 8 in class C are not represented in the larger data set of the NFP project. However, this will not affect the present study, which focuses on all English lessons at secondary school.

These classroom observations were carried out by means of minidisc recordings. In practice, two sets of minidisc recorders were placed in the language classrooms. Pupils and teachers were informed that recorders, which were initially positioned either at the front between the teacher and his/her class or at the back, behind the pupils, might be moved in order to record

[2] Owing to an unforeseen technical failure when recording the first lesson of the B track in Stätten, only the second lesson can and will be used for the linguistic analysis of this study. The total number of lessons used for the analysis of Stätten therefore amounts to five rather than six, as in Alpegg.

activities that would evolve during lessons. Both researchers took minutes[3] of the lessons, including lesson stages, class organisation and additional comments. In addition, a camcorder was placed on a tripod in one of the two corners in front of the class and video recordings were carried out. Owing to the fact that technical constraints did not allow filming of the whole class with one camera position, the camera was sometimes panned horizontally during lesson observation. The video recordings had been intended as a partial visual record of what goes on in the classrooms and to enable speaking turns to be assigned to individual pupils. It showed, however, that transcription work (see below) was particularly effective when doing so directly using video recordings and sometimes completing sequences with minidisc material.

During the classroom observation period (i.e. May, June 06) information about pupils' personal contact with and relation to languages and language learning was collected by using parts of the European Language Portfolio II (also see http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Portfolio). The reason for using this tool, rather than a specially constructed questionnaire, is the context given when data was gathered. At the time of data collection, the ELP II was about to be introduced to the schools in the two cantons. The tool corresponded to the ideology of valorising all languages, including those of migration. The portfolio remained the pupils' own property and is supposed to be updated throughout their schooling career. In other words, an existing and ready-to-use tool was used in order to obtain additional information, i.e. pupils' language biographies.

In detail, pupils at secondary school in both Zurich and Appenzell filled in Form 1 (Sprachen meiner Familie und der Personen meiner Umgebung), Form 2 (Erfahrungen mit anderen Kulturen und Sprachen), Form 3 (Sprachen die ich im Schulunterricht oder in Kursen lerne oder gelernt habe), Form 4 (Sprachen, die ich an meiner Schule ausserhalb des Fremdsprachenunterrichts verwende/verwendet habe) and Form 5.1 (Spracherfahrungen, die ich über verschiedene Medien gemacht habe). In order to complete the data with the demographics of each pupil, a questionnaire seeking personal information, origin and languages (i.e. first, second, additional languages), as well as information about the use of language(s) in the family of the pupil, was completed together in class. There was a degree of overlap between the demographic questionnaire and the Portfolio forms.

[3] 'Beobachtungsprotokoll', i.e. a written record of the sequential structure of each lesson

Prior to classroom observation and collection of sociodemographic information by means of questionnaire described so far, pupils were given the opportunity to express themselves with regard to the languages they have in their repertoires or have encountered in their daily lives in a more open-ended and spontaneous way. They were asked to crayon in a silhouette of a person (male or female) with the instruction to fill the blank silhouette with their personal languages by using one separate colour for each language. It was emphasised that pupils were not restricted to fill in languages they were able to speak but in fact languages that they have a certain relation to (e.g. they hear other people use or would like to learn, etc.). In order to explain the task, examples of filled silhouettes taken from Hans-Jürgen Krumm's (2001) collection of language portraits in *Kinder und ihre Sprachen – lebendige Mehrsprachigkeit*, were shown on the overhead projector. This was carried out to provide a visual image of what pupils were expected to do. Following Krumm's structure of collecting pupils' language portraits by means of silhouette colouring, pupils were also asked to provide a key clarifying which colour stands for which language, what the relation to the language is and why the language was included in the silhouette. In practice, pupils were given an A3-format piece of paper with the silhouette on the left and a blank right-hand part for the key.

Two lessons were assigned for the colouring activity of the silhouette and the collection of sociodemographic and language-specific information. Original material was then collected, photocopied and returned to the pupils. This collection of personal data resulted in a master file for each pupil. These master files are seen as a valuable source of information that contributed greatly to the analysis process within the larger NFP framework. For the current analysis of classroom observation, the master files must be seen as essentially secondary, i.e. complementing the main set of classroom recordings.

In addition, during the period of data collection in May and June 06, teachers who taught languages to the classes involved, were asked to give their thoughts on languages and language policy in an interview with a researcher from the team. Each interview lasted approximately half an hour. As I will concentrate on classroom material of the English lessons at secondary school in my analysis, it is the interviews of the six English teachers in each secondary school classroom that provide additional information. However, being secondary to classroom data – like pupils' master files – these interviews must be seen as background information for the researcher and therefore will not be presented or analysed explicitly in this study.

Interviews consisted of two parts, were carried out in a separate room with only interviewer and interviewee present and were recorded on minidisc. In part one, teachers were asked to tell the interviewer their language biographies with reference to languages in their families, the language they use with friends, and their experiences as language learners themselves. In this narrative part, teachers were able to express themselves without interruption. After they had given their report, the interviewer sometimes asked for clarification of certain comments.

In part two, where the teachers were seen as experts at school (in literature referred to as "Experteninterview", see e.g. Flick 2005), they were first given a set of cards with possible roles they might adopt in the classroom (i.e. tester, motivator, supplier, organiser, supporter, language sensitizer and an optional blank card to use too). Teachers then ordered these cards according to their personal idea of importance at school and commented on their sequence of roles. Subsequently, teachers were asked about their aims as language teachers at school and were given the opportunity to relate their ideas to personal experiences of particularly positive or negative memories regarding their teaching career. The interviews ended with a question about language policy and interviewees' involvement in the debate on the implementation of additional languages at primary school level.

The technical equipment and the related recordings of language lessons, the interviews with teachers, the portfolio-related classroom activities with questionnaire and the silhouette to be coloured, were all pre-tested at a selected 8th grade and their teacher in the canton of Zurich. This pre-testing took place in May 06.

The following table summarises the relevant data used for the analysis of classroom interaction. It must be noted again that it is primarily the transcript material of the recorded English lessons at secondary school that will be analysed and compared across sites and classes.

Time of Collection	Set of Data	Analysed Document
May/June 06	**11 English lessons of 45 min**	**11 transcripts**
	103 sociodemographic questionnaires 103 silhouettes	103 master files
	6 interviews with teachers	6 transcripts

Table 5: Overall data collected

2.3 NFP Framework

In the following section, I would like to describe the larger-scale NFP project, which was under way from November 2005 to April 2008. In so doing, I will locate the present study within the larger project and show that my results contribute considerably to a better understanding of the microdimension of classroom interaction.

On the most general level, the NFP56 project entitled *Multilingualism, Identities and Language Learning in Swiss Classrooms and Communities,* was divided into two main research phases, each dealing with different dimensions of language identity and multilingualism in the Swiss-German language learning context.

In phase 1, the project focused on communities and classrooms as sites which are impacted by top-down decisions and in which educators, parents and pupils all live, construct and implement certain changes. These people involved also redefine aspects of their identities on the basis of new language learning or teaching experiences. The key notion is how, to what extent and why, the different actors do or do not invest, as it were, in these changes. The project observed and assessed a process of change in which a struggle over the establishment of authority and legitimacy in the domain of language learning and multilingualism was played out. From these findings, conclusions can be drawn, both of a retrospective nature concerning the realisation of the reform, and of a proactive nature with the goal of providing insights and assistance to the further shaping of educational language policies in Switzerland. In phase 1, mainly based on media coverage of the ongoing changes in the Swiss context of language learning, the macrolevel analysis of "the ontogenesis of the changes implemented currently" (i.e. macrodimension research strand spelled out in outline to NFP56 project) was at the centre of the research interest. In that particular field of research, however, I will not present material, nor provide any analysis. The final project report summarises relevant macrodimensional results too (see link in the first paragraph of this chapter, and relevant literature, e.g. Heller 2001).

Phase 2 of the project consisted of the study of ongoing changes in the field of foreign language teaching in state primary and secondary schools. It focused on the mesolevel of two school communities and the microlevel of selected classrooms. It also tried to understand individual perspectives and interpretations of the changes in foreign language teaching.

Although the trajectory of reform was triggered and heavily influenced by the implementation of primary English teaching, what happened to other languages and lessons was of equal concern, as was the potentially multilingual set-up of classes and communities.

It is within this microperspective of selected classrooms, referring to the project phase 2 of research, that this study is located. It must be noted, however, that the present research adopts a narrow perspective on discourse practices in the English lessons of the school classes chosen at secondary school. Language learning as such is not the research goal. Instead, I will concentrate my main research interest on a moment-by-moment analysis of classroom interaction in year 8 of secondary school with a close focus on metapragmatics developed in more detail in the following chapters.

2.4 English Classes

2.4.1 Introduction to Classroom Overview

The following subchapter provides an overview of content, participants and classroom dynamics of the three classes in Stätten and Alpegg. More detailed references will be made to classroom content and participants involved in the analysis of the transcripts of these lessons with regard to metapragmatic criteria introduced in chapter 4.

2.4.2 Stätten A

The two English lessons of the A-track class in Stätten were observed and recorded on June 16 and June 17, 2006. As referred to in the table above, half of the class regularly speak another language than Swiss German at home. The teacher, a 32-year-old female Swiss (during data collection), has been a secondary school teacher since 2000. She had worked for Nestlé as a microbiologist prior to her career as a teacher and indicates in her language biography that she used French a lot when working for Nestlé in Lausanne, and English as another language of communication in her work context (including a lot of English literature in her microbiology studies). She has been teaching English in Stätten since 2004 and has a good level of English, despite making mistakes in class quite regularly. From a research perspective, I estimate her level of English, according to the *Common European Framework*

of Reference for Languages, as a B2. She is very much accepted as an English teacher and managed to teach the classes observed without any major disruption.

In lesson 1, the teacher introduces a vocabulary exercise and organises the class into two groups. Taking turns, the two groups are shown cards displaying items of vocabulary (i.e. *shop*, *friend*, etc) that they have to explain to the other group. The aim is to guess the word explained for one's own group as quickly as possible. In the remaining part of the lesson, the teacher focuses on the topic of au pair, taken from the course book *Non-Stop English 2*. The class reads an advertisement for an au pair in French-speaking Switzerland and works on the au-pair topic on the basis of activities consisting of word ordering of given sentences, listening to a dialogue and also a related multiple choice reading comprehension exercise. Finally, the teacher asks pupils to write some additional sentences about au pairs. On the whole, the teacher, Ms Grell[4], follows the order of the course book very strictly.

In lesson 2, Ms Grell begins by forming five groups which have to learn how to read an Irish joke distributed to them on a slip of paper (i.e. each group gets a different joke). The groups are supposed to use a dictionary in case they need to double-check pronunciation. Ms Grell then distributes all the jokes on one piece of paper to each pupil in the class and asks the different groups to read "their" jokes out loud. In addition, pupils have to explain what is funny about the joke. In the second part of the lesson, the teacher takes up the au-pair activity again and starts by collecting what they remember from the previous lesson. The focus shifts to the grammatical topic of modal verbs *can*, *must* and the negative form of the auxiliary *does*, i.e. *doesn't,* before pupils start working individually on a worksheet taken from *Non-Stop English 2*. Finally, the teacher, without correcting the worksheet, introduces a dialogue activity where she asks pupils, in the same group as at the beginning of the lesson, to invent a dialogue between an experienced au pair and a person interested but inexperienced in the subject matter. The lesson ends with each group reading out their dialogue to the rest of the class.

[4] For both teachers and pupils, pseudonyms are used throughout this study

2.4.3 Stätten B

The two English lessons in Ms Keller's class took place on May 5 and May 12, 2006. Eleven of the sixteen pupils in her class regularly speak a language other than Swiss German at home. Ms Keller is a native Swiss, female and was 49 years of age when the data was collected. She has been a qualified teacher since 1982 and obtained her English-teaching qualification in 1995. She spent three months in America in 1979 and one month each in Oxford and Manchester, all related to her qualifying as an English teacher. In her language biography, she describes herself as a typical natural-science person who, rather late in her teaching career, came to love foreign languages. Her English is between an estimated B2 and C1, with a fairly strong Swiss accent but few grammatical mistakes. As the head of the school, she has a reduced teaching workload.

Owing to a technical breakdown in the first lesson observed, I would like to summarise the second lesson here and incorporate it into the linguistic analysis in the following chapters. The teacher starts by eliciting from the pupils what they still remember about Picasso, referring to a listening session they have had in class earlier (*Non-Stop English 1*). Keller asks her pupils to work together on an exercise where they have to fill in some gaps in order to form *who* questions about Picasso in the past simple tense. Keller then takes the lead in the last part of the exercise by asking different pupils to form more *who* questions about the famous people Armstrong, Picasso and Bell. One by one, the teacher asks pupils to give the correct answers, related to a fictional character called Jim Blogg. Thus, pupils have to contrast this fictional character with the famous people mentioned above. As a final activity, Ms Keller elicits from the pupils how the past simple tense is formed before introducing them to a domino game, where they have to cut up different blocks and put them together so that the ending of one block is completed by the beginning of the next.

2.4.4 Stätten C

The two English lessons in this class were observed and recorded on May 15 and May 22, 2006. The teacher, a native Swiss male studying for the Cambridge Proficiency exam, has an estimated C2 level of English. He was 28 when the data was collected. He has been a secondary school teacher since 1999 and considers himself bilingual in English and German. As a child, he spent a few weeks a year in day camps in Ohio, USA (1984-1988).

Mr Sieber's first lesson mainly revolves around the collecting of different tenses in class. The teacher elicits these tenses and spends a long time labelling them correctly. Rather unconnected short sequences ensue, i.e. pupils contribute their answers, sometimes without being granted the floor explicitly. Only some of their answers are taken up and commented on by the teacher. Sieber then elicits different forms and tenses of the original sentence *Ich trinke Milch*, 'I drink milk' and writes the new sentences on an overhead transparency. The teacher instructs the class to carry on in pairs writing down any sentence and using a list of verbs from the course book *Non-Stop English 1* before reading it out for the neighbour to guess. This rather unstructured part of the lesson is followed by a collection sequence where Sieber asks individual pupils to read out their sentence(s) before asking the class about the correct tense of the given sentence. A discussion follows and deals with the construction of *-ing* forms. The teacher takes a long time to communicate the fact that there is only one *-ing* form for each verb (*take, took* → *taking*). Generally speaking, the class is fairly undisciplined and has to be reprimanded by Mr Sieber at various stages.

In the second lesson, Sieber mainly focuses on the correction of a word-ordering exercise where pupils have to re-arrange jumbled-up sentence blocks into a logical sequence. In addition, they have to decide whether to use *did*, *was* or *were* in each of the ten sentences. The class then continues with a follow-up exercise (*Non-Stop English 1*, workbook) where pupils are instructed to insert the constructed questions into the right gap of the ensuing dialogue exercise. Individual work follows with yet another exercise in the same unit. Pupils in this exercise are instructed to choose from a set of verbs to fill the gaps of a text with the correct past simple form. The lesson continues with the correction of the gap-fill past simple exercise. In addition, pupils work on the follow-up exercise too where they have to negate a wrong sentence in the past and also write down the correct sentence in the affirmative past form. The lesson finishes with the teacher referring to Unit 26 in the course book and a pupil reading out the first part of a text entitled *A Winter Holiday*.

2.4.5 Alpegg A

On June 19 as well as June 20, 2006, the two English lessons of the A-track class in Alpegg were observed and recorded. The teacher, Mr Schwaller, is a native Swiss and has been working as a secondary school teacher in Alpegg since 1987. He was 44 years of age when the data was collected. He has spent some time in New York and Broadstairs (UK) and has an estimated level of C1 in English.

In the first lesson, the teacher focuses on soap operas and their stars, on the basis of the course book *Inspiration 2*, student's book. Pupils listen to a sequence on *Neighbours* and discuss capitalisation of English names. Using power point and an integrated-skill handout with gap exercises, the teacher asks pupils to read through the short text again on the slide and to decide which elements in the sentences can be labelled *subject*, *verb* or *object*. After giving pupils some time to do this exercise (which proved to be difficult), Mr Schwaller corrects it together with the class. What follows is a description exercise, linked to a picture in the course book and two pictures on the handout showing the whole *Neighbours* cast and the actors Jason Donovan and Kylie Minogue. For the two pictures on the handout, pupils are given language support, i.e. *Kylie Minogue look*s … / *she has got* .... As a result, they are able to produce sentences individually. Mr Schwaller collects some answers in class after pupils have been working on describing the pictures themselves. The teacher then carries on by playing the second short sequence taken from the course book, this time about the soap *Casualty*. Before he officially finishes the lesson, he asks pupils to read out chunks of the text after him and to read the whole text to each other in pairs.

In the second English lesson in this class, the teacher establishes a link to the previous lesson by asking pupils if they remember the names of the text they read and talked about. The pupils then listen to the text *Neighbours* again before Mr Schwaller collects some of the names in the short sequence in class. The teacher continues by referring to the *subject/verb/object* labelling exercise from the previous lesson and emphasises that *become* in the verb column is a false friend of *bekommen*. He also mentions that *was* is the past form of *to be* and asks a few pupils to tell him about their past. *I was +place* of one pupil is reported by another pupil with *he/she was +place*. In some of the sentences produced by pupils, *was* is in fact used as an auxiliary verb (e.g. *I was looking TV)* and not a full verb (e.g. *I was in the swimming pool*). Mr Schwaller introduces a gap exercise on a handout and asks pupils to supply a few words to fill in the gaps in the *Casualty* text. Before doing so, pupils read the

text on the power point slide again, then read it after the teacher, and finally also to each other in pairs. The words to remember for the gap exercise are highlighted in red on the slide. After correcting this exercise, the teacher asks pupils to carry on with the next exercise on the handout showing definitions of the red words that pupils have just used to fill the gaps in the previous exercise. After giving pupils relatively little time to work on this activity themselves, he corrects the answers in class. In the final exercise, the teacher introduces an information gap exercise where one pupil has to ask another one about some biographical information given on a slip of paper (i.e. one pupil acting Maria Friedman, an actor in *Casualty*).

2.4.6 Alpegg B

The two English classes of the B-track classroom in Alpegg were observed and recorded on May 29 and May 30, 2006. Ms Moser is a native female Swiss and 58 years old (when data was collected). She has been employed as an English teacher at this particular secondary school since 1998. Her English is excellent and by the majority of pupils she is regarded as an English person to be talked to in English in class and even outside the classroom. She clearly has a C2 level of English.

The first lesson starts with the teacher instructing the pupils to read through a dialogue in their course book *Inspiration 2*. The grammatical topic of the unit is the past continuous tense. In the following exercise, pupils answer comprehension check questions about the dialogue they have just read. The teacher directs the conversation, eliciting the past continuous as the tense and aspect focused on in the answers by the pupils. What follows is some input by the teacher on this tense with reference to a grammar box and to some gaps to fill in on the following page of the course book (*was/were* have to be filled in, the present participle is given). After filling in these gaps individually, pupils correct their sentences together with their teacher in class. Ms Moser then asks her pupils what they *were doing* at certain stages in the recent past, and organises a short pair-work activity where pupils have to tell each other what they were doing at 10.45am on that day. Afterwards, they report back to the teacher and to the class what they have found out about their partner. Ms Moser also refers to some grammar input about the past continuous on the blackboard and asks pupils to read out some sentences. She finally organises the class into three groups and requests each one to work on a vocabulary list with difficult words of a play each group will have to present to the rest of the class.

In the second lesson of the B-track classroom in Alpegg, the teacher starts off by asking pupils what they were doing at 7am in the morning, before commenting on what she was doing herself. She incorporates the exceptional situation of snowfall at the end of May into her contribution to the class (i.e. *and then I saw that it was snowing*), thus linking her input to something special in the immediate environment of the pupils. Pupils continue by copying the grammar topic of past continuous (discussed in lesson 1 already) from the blackboard. They then do another exercise about a dialogue given in the course book unit by filling in some gaps with the correct past continuous forms of the verbs provided in brackets. This is followed by Ms Moser correcting the exercise by going through each sentence in class. The next exercise that pupils are asked to do individually is a matching exercise with *why*-questions and corresponding *because*-answers. The lesson again finishes with a sequence where pupils work on the collection of words for the vocabulary list of the play they will later on present to each other in class. The teacher collects these lists at the end of the lesson.

2.4.7 Alpegg C

In the C-track classroom in Alpegg, the two English lessons were observed and recorded on June 8 and June 12, 2006. Mr Stocker, a native Swiss, has been teaching English at the secondary school since 2002. According to his language biography, he spent a year in an English-speaking country. While doing his vocational training to become an English teacher at secondary school in 2002, he spent another month abroad. His level of English is good, although he quite frequently makes mistakes. Without carrying out an official assessment to determine his level of English (as the research focus lies elsewhere in this study), I would venture to add that his English is probably at about a B2 level, according to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.* Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that comments will have to be made regarding a teacher's command of English with reference to their metapragmatic input in class, but not before introducing the categorisation system in chapter 4.

In the first lesson, the teacher starts by correcting an activity that pupils have had to do in the workbook. They have written down twelve sentences containing *some* or *any,* with reference to two pictures, one topical and one old. After this correcting stage, Mr Stocker initiates the new topic of the lesson in the course book *Inspiration 2*. The title is *The Fire Started at the Baker's* and the topic revolves around the *Great Fire of London*. As an introduction, the

teacher asks a pupil to translate the title. With the words given in the opening exercise 1, Stocker asks the pupils to describe the picture. Pupils' sentences adhere exclusively to the structure *I see +a word* given in the box to exercise 1. Pupils then listen to the text, also given on the first page of the unit, and ask some vocabulary questions using the formulaic structure *what's the meaning of +word*. Answers to these questions are given by the teacher as translations of the words into German. Pupils then work in pairs through the comprehension questions in exercise 3, determining if the sentences are true or false and correcting the false sentences. Parallel to this exercise, the teacher also distributes a vocabulary list and asks pupils to learn vocabulary in pairs. What follows is the correction of the comprehension exercise in class before Stocker hands out a homework task that asks pupils to match famous people with corresponding names given in a box.

In the second lesson, Mr Stocker refers to the worksheet and the matching exercise given for homework. The teacher goes through the exercise and asks pupils who these famous people are and what they know about them. The majority of answers remain on a superficial level, i.e. only referring to a given paragraph (i.e. a profile) for each famous person on the same handout. However, the discussion sometimes starts dealing with a real information gap that pupils want to fill in themselves (e.g. regarding Marie Curie, *was hat sie geforscht* 'what did she do research on' or regarding the Mona Lisa, *why is the Mona Lisa so famous*). In the remaining part of the lesson, pupils concentrate on grammar revision of the past simple forms (affirmative and negative, as the main focus of the unit) by doing exercises in the corresponding unit of the workbook. Exercise 1 is done individually, first requiring pupils to fill in gaps with the past simple of the verb to be (i.e. *was* and *were* in affirmative and *wasn't* and *weren't* in negative sentences). After correcting the exercise in class, Stocker asks pupils to find a certain categorisation system of verbs in the original reading text *The Fire Started at the Baker's,* and to write it down in their workbooks.

2.5 Role of Researcher in Data Collection Process

Having described the process of data collection earlier in this chapter, I wish to draw attention to the role of the researcher as a sociolinguist in the field. Spending a lot of time in and around the two sites for data collection – from the initial contact established with teachers and school boards to the observations in the classrooms and collection of demographic information (see 2.2 above) – I have experienced a personal development on two levels.

Both teachers and pupils gradually started to accept my colleagues and myself as members of their community. Evidence of this can be seen in two seemingly trivial but nonetheless symbolically significant incidents during the first round of data collection in summer 2006. For this data collection, I mainly worked together with a colleague who was in the NFP56 project team. One day, as we were preparing the classroom recording of another language lesson in the corner of the staff room of one school, we were invited by the headmaster of the school to join the other teachers around the big table during the 10 o'clock coffee break. This simple (albeit very cordial) gesture by the headmaster deeply influenced my own attitude to my role – even in those early days – as a researcher working so closely with my subjects in the field.

Regarding pupils' familiarisation with the researchers in their environment, an anecdote taken from a classroom recording sequence helps to clarify the point. In a certain lesson sequence, pupils had to work individually on an activity in their course books about the past continuous tense. The teacher monitored her class and was busy answering individual questions. Taking field notes in the back row of the classroom, I wanted to double-check the camcorder at one stage to ensure that the lesson was being properly recorded. As I got up and approached the device in the opposite corner in the front of the classroom, a pupil addressed me and asked me a question on the topic of past continuous. I then noticed that pupils' reactions when we first saw them in the corridors and the classrooms differed greatly from their perception of the researchers after a few weeks of fairly regular encounters. In fact, the anecdote seems to suggest that pupils started seeing us as teachers who could be asked questions rather than researchers with whom a discussion might even be considered inappropriate. It must be stressed, however, that researchers made an explicit effort to remain in the background at all times of classroom observation.

This study adopts an applied linguistic perspective (referred to in Chapter 3, with reference to research interest and position). I therefore consider additional demographic information about pupils and teachers important in order to contextualise my focus on classroom interaction, but will not analyse such material explicitly with a set of linguistic categories. Nevertheless, the above-mentioned development of the role of a researcher in the field must be interpreted as more than simply "additional". In fact, the mere presence of the researchers, either in the classroom, the staff room or the corridor, influences participants' reactions to them, as the anecdotes have clearly suggested above. Thus, although not directly involved in interactions for the main source of my linguistic material, i.e. the recorded classroom conversations in the English lessons of grade 8 (with exceptions, as the anecdote showed, too), I need to remind myself of the fact that teachers and pupils realise that what they say in class will be studied by the research team later on. As a result, I would like to state that, even though I did not actively participate in the classroom interactions, the so-called "observer's paradox" must be taken into consideration when making claims about metapragmatic negotiation in the classroom (Labov 1972, i.e. in my context, the situation of finding out about participants' undisturbed interaction by attending class myself and thus – inevitably and paradoxically – disturbing to a certain point). I will come back to this factor when referring explicitly to the metapragmatic category "norms of interaction" and especially teachers' requests for the class to communicate in English.

The characteristics and quality of the data collected in this study, however, are only one side of the coin regarding the observer's paradox. Being a teacher myself, I found it hard, at times, to remain the researcher pure and simple. This may have shown when I felt that in the classrooms the teachers would sometimes have been quite grateful if I had supported them in their organisation of the lessons or when giving feedback on pupils' language structures. In these moments, with the aim of classroom observation being carried out as unobtrusively as possible, I had to force myself not to intervene. In addition, later in the analysis process of classroom data, I felt that my linguistic focus on metapragmatic negotiation (see chapters 3 and 4 for detailed research focus) was sometimes blurred, owing to my inability to completely block off the interpretation of the language lessons from a teacher's perspective. After reflecting on this teacher-researcher duality, however, I have come to believe that the two perspectives and the awareness of them should not be seen as contradictory or disadvantageous in the process of data analysis. On the contrary, I feel I can safely say that

being able to adopt the teachers' perspectives as well has provided a sounder basis for my metapragmatic analysis and position as a researcher.

Chapter 3: Research Field

3.1 Positioning of this Study in the "Meta" Research Field

The study of language and its "meta-aspect" has a long-standing tradition. According to Roman Jakobson (1971, 1980), a structural linguist from the Prague school of linguistics, its origins go back to the logician Alfred Tarski (1956). As one of the most famous logicians of the 20th Century, known for his mathematical conceptualisations of truth and logic, Tarski was the first to distinguish explicitly between an "object language" and its set-off "metalanguage". In short, the concept of a metalevel of language has clearly developed from a field other than that of applied linguistics. This traditional approach, which I will label the "logico-linguistic approach" in line with Lucy (1993: 11ff), has led to a fairly clear-cut distinction between "object language" and "metalanguage". Roger Berry (2005: 6) provides an example of where such a clear-cut distinction seems to be working neatly. He labels the explanation of a rule given in English to learners of French as a form of metalanguage in English, applied next to its clearly distinguished object language French. It is obvious that the above-mentioned clear-cut distinction between the object and its meta counterpart in Berry's example is achieved through language choice. I will therefore argue that, especially in the educational context with foreign language lessons mainly in the target language, such a distinction cannot be maintained. Thus, an approach must be found other than the original Tarskian approach, lacking any communicative orientation, or Berry's simplified conceptualisation of object vs. meta aspect.

Additionally, by referring to the origin of object vs. metalanguage in mathematical logic, Van Eijck, in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics,* maintains that "generally, the syntax of the object language is rigorously defined, that of the metalanguage is not" (1994: 2452). Considering the school context once more, I can confidently claim that any given discourse between participants in the classroom in fact also develops on the basis of a freedom of language structure within the syntactic norms on both object and metalevel of discourse. In practice, the quotation above would suggest that we should interpret a grammatical metacomment by the teacher, such as *we have to use the -ing form in these situations* – on the given subject of past continuous use – as a metacomment with a flexible syntax (e.g. *it's the -ing form that we need to use in these situations* would indeed give it a different stress). However, it would equally suggest that we have to distinguish it from its object language such

as the course book label sentence *they were cruising on the river Thames*, on the basis of a "more rigorously defined" syntax of the object language. As in language lessons, interactions develop mainly orally between participants on both object and metalevel (I will call the former first or content level and define both levels in more detail in chapter 4), consistent syntactical constraints on any level of discourse cannot be identified. Therefore, in communicative contexts of language lessons, syntactical differences cannot and will not be isolated in order to distinguish between object and metalanguage.

A different approach to metalanguage in a communicative language teaching setting is required and will be described in this chapter. The research position adopted in this study has become known as research into "metapragmatics". According to Lucy (1993: 14ff), it belongs to the research strand in "language reflexivity" that he labels the "semiotic-functional approach". In the following sections of this chapter, I will focus on recent developments in the applied field of research into metalanguage (and especially into "meta-pragmatics"). References to relevant literature in educational settings will be made in order to specify the classroom focus. In addition, owing to a proliferation of terms centred on the "meta-aspect" of language, I will provide a short overview of terms and state their relevance for this study. This will be developed from the object vs. metalanguage origin towards "metapragmatics" as the research position adopted in this study.

Looking at more recent developments in the field, notably the late 20th century, I would like to highlight two main strands that developed the concept of "metalanguage". In both tracks, the notion of object language vs. metalanguage gave way to a conceptualisation of metalanguage as the object language used reflexively. The negation of the so-called logico-linguistic approach of a clear distinction between language and its metalevel represents the position adopted by what will be referred to below as the sociolinguistic as well as applied linguistic approach to the meta subject.

In the field of sociolinguistics (more generically also referred to as a subfield of descriptive linguistics), researchers such as Jaworski, Coupland and Galasinski (1998) address metalanguage by and large by focusing on a broad "metazone" of discourse, including various framing devices, stylisation and humour. Their main focus is on social interaction as well as the practices and discourses underpinning them. In other words, language use is seen as social practice, and a deliberate effort is attributed to using language to position oneself in society

(which is what they define as the "meta" in the language). Coupland and Jaworski (1998: 15ff) contend that language reflexivity, as referred to above, plays a dominant role too, e.g. in their endeavours to question language as "uncontested and innocent behaviour" that requires no effort at the contextual margins of speaking. Despite their rigorous approach in analysing how metalanguage co-constructs everyday interaction, their main focus lacks the pragmatic and (as will be outlined with reference to relevant educational research quoted below) metapragmatic classroom orientation. While acknowledging their position that what they label "metalanguage" strongly influences ideological construction in e.g. press coverage and politics, I would like to emphasise that in this study, metalanguage in the classroom setting primarily carries pragmatic and first level discourse-supportive weight. In other words, the meta-aspect studied and analysed here is mainly seen as a second classroom level of discourse that is actively sought by participants to discuss and comment on topics of the first level of discourse. Jaworski and his colleagues' conceptualisation of metalanguage as a contextual necessity for everyday interaction is too broad for the interactional classroom focus adopted in this study. However, I will address social evaluation in the classroom as well by identifying a category on the metalevel of discourse that will be introduced in the next chapter as "norms of interaction". A whole chapter (i.e. chapter 8) will deal with teachers' and pupils' negotiation of such classroom norms, and this undoubtedly on a level beyond the classroom content of the lesson (hence on the metalevel).

Verschueren (1998: 53ff) distinguishes between "explicit metalanguage" and "implicit metalanguage" and argues that messages about messages and messages about codes denote the former, whereas codes about codes as well as codes about messages the latter (in accordance with Jakobson 1971). Having mentioned my primary discourse-supportive character of metalanguage in this research (see Hübler and Bublitz 2007 below), I wish to emphasise that the analytical objective of this study will revolve around Verschueren's explicit metalanguage. I will concentrate on so-called "focus-on-form" grammar clarification in the classroom, i.e. comments or "messages" about a given grammatical "message". In addition, I will also study comments (in Verschueren's terminology "messages" again) that refer to the code, i.e. studying metalanguage dealing with a "focus on meaning". This often manifests itself as vocabulary clarification sequences where a word is mentioned and discussed rather than used in the context of the first level of discourse (e.g. a teacher's comment such as *an au pair means a young woman doing household chores in another family*). In sum, the two major metapragmatic (the term will be delineated in detail below)

categories discussed in this study can be linked to Verschueren's definition of "explicit metalanguage" and will be defined in more detail in the next chapter and analysed with classroom sequences in chapters 5 and 6 (i.e. focus-on-form metapragmatic category and focus-on-meaning metapragmatic category).

Nevertheless, this study adopts an approach that differs sharply from that of Verschueren within the context of what he calls metalanguage. He identifies another term, i.e. "metapragmatic awareness", which consists of both explicit and implicit metalanguage. The implicit aspect, however, i.e. the dimensions that have been mentioned above as code referring to code as well as code referring to message, does not fit into my "discourse-pragmatic approach" with an application of explicit metalanguage for immediate communicative purposes. An example of code referring to code would be a proper noun which cannot be defined without circular reference to the code itself. Code-about-message implicit metalanguage is explained by Verschueren through the linguistic term of "shifters", such as personal pronouns, which are codes that do not only refer to a given content or message but in fact shift their meaning according to changing contexts. In my view, however, metapragmatics in the classroom must a) be traced in its discoursal explicitness and b) only deserves its name when related to how interactants actually apply explicit metalanguage to achieve a pragmatic effect. Within this context, "metapragmatics"/"metapragmatic" rather than "metalanguage"/"metalinguistic" will be used to describe the communicative endeavours of interactants in a classroom context on a metafloor (a short summary of terms will be given in this chapter too). The above-mentioned feature that must be assigned to metalanguage in the classroom, i.e. the achievement of a communicative purpose and the pragmatic effect on the metalevel (thus metapragmatic), is referred to in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Caffi describes "metapragmatics" and contends that

> [t]he metapragmatic level is not just one of the metalinguistic levels: on the contrary, it is something different from them, since the knowledge it refers to concerns not "being able to say" but "being able to do" (and being able to say what one does). It is the interface between the linguistic and the extralinguistic […]. (Caffi 1994: 2461)

I shall go on to elaborate on the basic position of this study's research into metapragmatics and also refer to the important distinction between "pragmatics" and "metapragmatics". Before doing so, however, I would like to point out that it is indeed the classroom context where both pupils and teachers communicate in a variety of ways that exceed the level of "saying" and comprise the discourse-pragmatic aspect of "doing" (see quote above, and this especially when dealing with the performance of certain roles in class).

In sum, this study's focus can partially be linked to the sociolinguistic approach described above. This can be done on the basis of the explicitness of metacomments in a Verschuerian way with my two main metapragmatic categories of grammar and vocabulary clarification. In addition, and this will be developed with reference to the term "metapragmatics" below again, I will define a metapragmatic category that captures the essence of the action (i.e. "being able to do") rather than the word (i.e. "being able to say") as well. This metapragmatic category will be referred to as "norms of interaction" and revolves around participants' explicit negotiation over what roles they are supposed to adopt in class.

Before describing the second major strand dealing with metalanguage in the 20th century with reference to my research position, i.e. the above-mentioned applied linguistic field, I would like to mention another area in the field of sociolinguistics; that of folk linguistics (see e.g. Kulbrandstad 2002, Niedzielski and Preston 1999 and Preston 2004). At its core, this branch of research seeks to track down reflective metalinguistic elements by discovering non-linguists' language attitudes in general. In other words, metalanguage is identified as a culturally determined reflection upon language and studied by ethnolinguists in order to understand non-scientific folk beliefs about language. This field of research, especially with a diachronic focus on language change and a Labovian (e.g. Labov 1972) sociolinguistic orientation of power distribution, lacks the specific interactional and pragmatic focus of classroom interaction on a moment-by-moment basis. Therefore, as no classroom context can be established and as the sociolinguistic fields will be summarised again when providing a short overview of terms, this research field will not be highlighted in any more detail here.

In the second, more applied strand of linguistics, 20th century (and actually early 21st century, of course) research into metalanguage has mainly been carried out in the fields of

- language knowledge of language teachers
- language of pedagogic grammars
- the relationship between language awareness and language proficiency
- educational matters

Sketching out the above-mentioned fields of the applied strand of metalanguage research in the continuation of this literature overview, I would like to start off by focusing on Freeman and Johnson (1998). As applied linguists, they imply a seemingly trivial – but absolutely crucial – question in their statement about language teaching given below.

> Insofar as teaching and what is taught are inseparable, we must also understand what makes our teaching language teaching. (Freeman and Johnson 1998: 413)

Especially in the first field listed above, researchers (e.g. Andrews 1999, 2003, Borg 1998, 1999, and Cajkler and Hislam 2002) have been focusing on the constituents of classroom management with a particular focus on teachers' explicit knowledge of grammar and grammar teaching. Such classroom orientation certainly helps in the study of Freeman and Johnson's question and may give us some answers for the classroom setting. Indeed, within my discourse-pragmatic approach to analysing English language lessons in a Swiss context, my data suggests that it is the negotiation over grammar topics that must be given prime attention. Coining the term "teacher metalinguistic awareness" (1999) and later revisiting the subject by rephrasing such teacher knowledge as "TLA" for "teacher language awareness" (2003), Andrews distinguishes between "knowledge about language" (i.e. subject-matter knowledge) and "knowledge of language" (i.e. language proficiency). As communication in this study's classroom setting will be interpreted as an achievement of both pupils' and teachers' communicative efforts, such a focus on the knowledge base of teachers must be taken into account. Andrews' work is of particular importance as it approaches the classroom context from a second/foreign language teacher perspective. In fact, the analysis of metapragmatics in my classroom context very similarly zooms in on the teachers (all of whom actually are non-native English speakers) and focuses on their attempts to organise communication on the propositional first as well as underlying metapragmatic level of

discourse. How Andrews' TLA manifests itself in explicit metacommunication between the teachers and the pupils and how the two aspects of the suggested term (i.e. "knowledge about language" and "knowledge of language") can be identified in my communicative data, will be shown in the analysis later in this study. In addition, his term "knowledge of language" will also connect this chapter with my section on further research (see chapter 11, i.e. 11.4), as data analysis will yield a highly interesting link between a teacher's language proficiency and the applying of metapragmatics in the classroom.

In the close, moment-by-moment analysis of classroom interaction on mainly grammar topics studied with my data later (as one metapragmatic category introduced in chapter 4), I will show that pupils play a determining role as well. Thus, the pragmatic and metapragmatic efforts studied in this research must clearly be assigned to both teachers' and pupils' "knowledge base" (using Andrews' terminology), which suggests that pupils' language awareness is of equal importance in my analysis. Thus, a tentative answer to Freeman and Johnson's question quoted above could be given as follows; language teaching, from my interactional perspective, is achieved as a "joint venture" between teachers and pupils and largely depends on both teachers' and pupils' knowledge base about the target language (i.e. subject matter knowledge as well as teachers' and pupils' language proficiency). And indeed, I shall show that participants' language abilities play a dominant role when teachers and pupils start negotiating over a given grammar topic and thus move to a metapragmatic level, i.e. when knowledge of subject becomes the topic for discussion.

Keeping the focus on the importance of a "knowledge base" in the classroom suggested by Andrews, I would like to mention that another linguist has contributed to a comprehensive understanding of metapragmatics in my context, with a notion not discussed so far. It is most notably Shulman, who in the 80s suggested a link between subject-matter knowledge and teacher professionalism (1986a, 1986b, 1987). He focused in particular on teachers' cognitive understanding of subject matter content and the relationship between this understanding and the instructions teachers offer to students (1986a: 25). This is of particular importance to my research as it broadens Andrews' notion of TLA by explicitly introducing what Shulman called "knowledge of pedagogy". Coining the term "pedagogical content knowledge" (PCK) as a "special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding" (1987: 8), Shulman contends that yet another determining component when analysing the metapragmatic efforts of teachers and pupils in

the classroom must be studied; the didactic understanding and set-up of the lesson. I would like to go back once again to the attempt to answer Freeman and Johnson's central question quoted above, i.e. the "joint effort" that has been described as based on Andrews' concept of TLA and combined with an understanding of pupils' language awareness to contribute to pragmatic and metapragmatic negotiation in my classrooms. In so doing, I wish to add that the pedagogical component is indeed inherent in any language lesson. Although not requiring the teachers in this study's analysis to comment explicitly on the pedagogical reasoning behind their organisation of classroom discourse recorded in the setting (contrasting with e.g. Borg, see below), this pedagogical component must and will be kept in mind as a factor determining ongoing discourse on a moment-by-moment basis as well. I will adopt this notion again in my conclusion when suggesting how to broaden the close analysis on metapragmatics presented here with a triangulation of data, especially in terms of teachers' didactic approaches to teaching language lessons.

In a related field, Borg defines metatalk as "explicit talk about grammar" (1998: 159ff) and focuses on the fundamental role teachers play in defining the nature of instruction when moving the classroom interaction to explicit talk about a grammar topic. His terminological distinction between "metatalk" and "metalanguage" will be referred to in the overview of terminology later in this chapter. The approach taken here is certainly in line with Borg's recognition of explicit talk about grammar as being conducted on the metalevel of discourse. However, I have previously argued for a close focus on pupils' language awareness as well. Consequently, I have decided against asking teachers explicitly about their choices regarding the set-up of metadiscussion in the classroom as Borg did. Doing it in Borg's fashion, according to my understanding of the importance of pupils' language awareness, would equally have entailed asking pupils about their meta-efforts in the classroom, which would have exceeded the scope of this study's data collection. As a result, I have decided to place my main emphasis on the verbal manifestations of metapragmatics in the classroom. And yet, Borg's request for more research in the field of grammar negotiation must be taken seriously. In one of his articles, he quotes Mitchell (1994: 218ff) and states that

> relatively little direct evidence [is] available on how teachers talk about grammar with their students in the foreign language classroom [...] we badly need some richly descriptive ethnographic studies, which will document instances of classroom talk about grammar, both teacher- and student-initiated […]. (Borg 1998: 159)

In order to complete the reference to the different fields within the applied strand of metalanguage listed above, I would also like to mention the fields of pedagogic grammars, research that establishes a link between language awareness and language proficiency, as well as research into more general educational matters (this study will, however, not place its main emphasis on these approaches to metalanguage).

In the field of pedagogic grammars, researchers such as Berry (2000, 2004) zoom in on metalanguage understood as the language of explanation of grammar books. Despite the fact that I recognise the importance of course books, particularly in the foreign language classroom, I am clearly not going to focus on the course books' language of instruction. What I shall do is concentrate on evolving metapragmatic negotiation of all participants beyond the first level of discourse (having touched on the concept of metapragmatics above and defining it with reference to especially Hübler and Bublitz 2007 again below).

The relationship between language awareness and language proficiency has also been studied extensively by researchers such as Steel and Alderson (Steel and Alderson 1994, Alderson 1997). However, a classroom-specific focus with careful analysis of the moment-by-moment manifestations of metalanguage applied by all participants is missing altogether. In the last field of educational matters, Jessner (2006) and Carter (1995) are among those who study pupils' language awareness (in the case of Carter, also that of teachers). Jessner herself focuses on multilingual children and concludes that research into metalanguage might form a valuable methodological tool for further studies on the roles and interrelationship of a multilingual's set of languages. I have, however, shown earlier that researchers such as Andrews (1999, 2003), who deal with the language knowledge of language teachers, approach the field by studying language awareness and language proficiency as well. Compared with Jessner and Carter, Andrews can be described as more consistently adopting a teacher-training point of view and therefore is more in line with my interactional classroom perspective, and consequently more relevant in terms of associated research in the applied strand of linguistics.

Having developed my research position on the "meta" in the classroom by drawing on aspects discussed within the sociolinguistic as well as the applied linguistic strand, I would like to emphasise the core focus of this research once more. It is essentially what Habermas (1984) labels the duality of language that challenges all participants in their negotiation in the foreign language classroom. In Habermas' words there is a

> […] Doppelstruktur der Rede, d. h. [eine] Trennung von zwei kommunikativen Ebenen, auf denen sich Sprecher und Hörer *gleichzeitig* verständigen müssen […]. […] sie müssen die Kommunikation eines Inhaltes mit der Metakommunikation über den Verwendungssinn des kommunizierten Inhaltes vereinigen.
> (Habermas 1984: 404)

> […] dual structure of talk, i.e. a division between two communicative levels, on which speaker and hearer have to reach an understanding simultaneously […]. […] they have to combine the communication of a content with the metacommunication about how to use the communicated content (Hübler and Bublitz' translation, 2007: 3)

It is indeed surprising that very little research has been carried out to study this dual structure in the classroom setting. Only very recently has the field of applied linguistics witnessed discernible advances on the notion of pragmatics of metacommunicative utterances in use. Hübler and Bublitz (2007: 1) in their introduction to *Metapragmatics in Use*, state that the term "metalanguage" has a "long-standing and concordantly used notion in linguistics". They refer to Habermas' duality of language quoted above as well, and contrast the notion of "reflexivity", i.e. the application of language for self-referential purposes, with what they label "metapragmatics". They define its somehow novel field of research as follows.

> Rather than reflecting on how metalanguage is used as a means of topicalising, theorising or simply talking about language (as system or in use), we investigate how interactants actually employ meta-utterances to intervene in ongoing discourse. Accordingly, we are interested in the pragmatics of meta-utterances being put to communicative practice, or, in short, in *metapragmatics in use*.
> (Hübler and Bublitz 2007: 1)

In order to present the research goal of this study and lead on to my research questions with regard to Hübler and Bublitz' understanding of "metapragmatics" quoted above, my aim will be to contrast the adopted pragmatic/metapragmatic focus with studies carried out by Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis (1999, 2001, 2002). They draw a basic distinction between lessons focused on meaning and lessons focused on form (2002: 1). When it comes to a classroom's focus on form, these researchers, as does Long (1988, 1991), differentiate between an aspect labelled "focus on forms" and another one called "focus on form".

Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis contend that in focus on forms sequences "discreet grammar points" are taught "in accordance with a synthetic syllabus" (2002: 2). In focus on form, they argue, pupils are drawn to linguistic elements rather incidentally in lessons which they call "overtly communicative" (2002: 2).

I would like to suggest an approach to metalanguage applied in classrooms other than that of Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis. There are three basic reasons for doing so. First of all, they only broadly define what "communicative lessons" entail by referring to what they asked from the teachers prior to observing the selected "communicative lessons" in an intermediate classroom with adult students in Auckland, New Zealand. We are given a list of activities such as "information gap and opinion gap tasks, role play activities, jigsaw tasks and reading comprehension" where, they state, the instruction was primarily communicative in that "there was generally no pre-determined linguistic focus" (2002: 4). The distinction drawn between "focus on form" classroom sequences, with an overtly communicative setting, compared with "focus on forms" classrooms, where explicit attention is paid to grammatical form, simply cannot be applied in this study's set of classroom data. In all lessons observed for this study, teachers pursue a language learning agenda that promotes an improvement in both grammatical accuracy and communicative fluency. I strongly believe that the communicative aspect of a language lesson must be studied irrespective of the explicitness of grammar issues at work. In other words, any language lesson is by definition communicative, and what Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis have identified as particularly communicative elements, such as information gap and role play tasks, etc., are in fact very common in explicitly grammatical sequences in particular.

Secondly, as a consequence of the contested presence or absence of the "communicative" aspect for foreign language lessons in general, I suggest that the "focus on form" vs. "focus on forms" distinction does not serve any relevant purpose in my classroom setting. Obviously, I will analyse the metapragmatic aspects of interactional classroom sequences in what Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis call focus on form communicative lesson sequences, but will also analyse metapragmatics in more explicit sequences, where "discreet grammar points" are discussed in class.

And finally, what they focus on within their communicative lesson frame is what they call "Focus on Form Episodes" (FFEs) as occasions where there is a close attention to grammar, vocabulary, spelling, discourse and pronunciation. Within these FFEs, Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis (2002: 6), in a very quantitative approach to their material, identify both technical and non-technical utterances as metalinguistic terms. They provide the following extracts to substantiate the use of non-technical (D1) and technical (D2) use of metalanguage within two FFEs, the metalinguistic comments being underlined (I have labelled them (D1) and (D2) as definition extracts; the extracts themselves are taken from Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis' data corpus (2002: 6) and have not been changed).

(D1)
S: excuse me, what's spoil means
T: if you are my child and you keep saying give me sweets … and I say yes all the time, I spoil you .. I give you too much because you always get what you want
S: they spoil them, they always get whatever

(D2)
S1: PREdiction?
S2: I think the second syllable is stressed
S1: PreDICTion
T: preDICTion

In extract (D1), Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis identify *means* as a non-technical metalinguistic term but do not label the ensuing comment by the teacher as metalinguistic. The final student's uptake of the teacher's comment is then considered metalinguistic again. Similarly, in (D2) they label *syllable* and *stressed* as two technical metalinguistic terms, as well as another student's uptake of the correct second-syllable stress. The final teacher's comment is left unlabelled in terms of the researchers' metalinguistic distinction between technical and non-technical terms.

By identifying a relationship between the use of metalanguage and the occurrence of uptake moves (which they both label metalinguistic), they cut down their FFEs into very small units of metalinguistic comments that are arguably rather arbitrary (i.e. why should the uptake in (D2) be metalinguistic whereas the teacher's comment to it should not?). In addition, commenting on the student's use of ***means*** (an instance they initially label a non-technical metalinguistic comment), they state that it is "non- or semi-technical" (2002: 8), suggesting that a clear-cut distinction between technical and non-technical terms cannot be made.

Pursuing a qualitative approach that focuses on selected examples of metalanguage applied, I would strongly argue against splitting up what I will call "metapragmatic acts" (as lesson sequences where metapragmatics occurs) into smaller units of metalinguistic utterances. In my analysis, (D1) would be a student-initiated metapragmatic act (MPA) on focus-on-meaning vocabulary clarification (see chapter 6) that develops into a teacher's comment and the pupil's reaction to it. In so doing, my aim is rather to focus on the establishment of metapragmatics as a shared floor of metacommunication.

It is thus in Hübler and Bublitz' context of "how interactants actually employ meta-utterances to intervene in ongoing discourse" (see quote above) that my research is positioned, largely owing to the explicitly interactive setting of the data corpus. In addition, considering the fact that the volume *Metapragmatics in Use* (Bublitz and Hübler 2007) consists merely of three articles dealing with metapragmatic comments in an educational context (relevant passages will be referred to in the analysis chapters), I feel justified in claiming that there is plenty of scope for research into metapragmatic use in classroom settings.

3.2 The Meta Origin of Language and its Distinction from Metapragmatics

In this subchapter, I would like to show the development of "metalanguage" and set out the terminological distinctions of relevant literature mentioned earlier. In addition, I shall focus on the term "metapragmatics" again, especially by highlighting how it is used in existing literature and what distinguishes it from the term "pragmatics" the way it is used in this study (with reference to Hübler forthc.). In fact, I will suggest a straightforward line of separation between the two terms.

Roman Jakobson (1980), in the field of (structural) linguistics, was the first to address "metalanguage" and its importance in human communication. Having already mentioned it in my introduction to this field of research, (i.e. explicit metapragmatic comments in a secondary educational setting across sites and classes), I would like to refer once more to Jakobson's clear-cut distinction between "metalanguage" and "object language". Creating a framework of communicative functions that exist between sender and receiver, he establishes the elements of context, channel and code around the central piece of the message. He sees the metalingual function, i.e. the ability to check and detach oneself from the code as the object language itself, as a genuinely human one, demanding the attention of the linguist. However, he does not describe this function as a communicator's tool, used by interactants to structure ongoing discourse (i.e. instance-related aspect), but in fact defines it as a system-related asset to gloss over or comment on the propositional meaning of a message.

As Hübler and Bublitz state, Jakobson is not interested

> […] in metalanguage as an instrument actually used by interactants in a particular speech event to refer to ongoing discourse (e.g. by querying meanings, clarifying functions, (re-) structuring clauses). Instead, he looks upon metalanguage as a kind of *virtual tool* geared towards the systematics of object language, i.e., as a potential at the language user's disposal. (Hübler and Bublitz 2007: 3)

Jakobson's treatment of metalanguage as a "potential at the language user's disposal" points in the direction of the approach adopted in this study, but it lacks the practical, i.e. discourse-related, aspect that is pursued here. Therefore, in the last section of this chapter, the notion of metapragmatics will be developed into my research questions. In addition, I will provide an

overview with key "meta" terms and position them according to the strands of research discussed.

In this section, my aim will be to present how "metapragmatics" can be understood and how the term is used in this study, especially with reference to the related field of "pragmatics". According to Caffi, (1994: 2461), there are at least three areas of research to be distinguished that are given the label metapragmatics. I will not focus on the general debate on pragmatics, i.e. the "criteria of pertinence of the discipline" (1994: 2461) and the verifications of pragmatic assumptions and questions arising in the field of pragmatics. This broad field of reflection on pragmatics clearly lacks any immediately discourse-pragmatic interactional component. Caffi (in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*) notes the need to reflect on the scope of pragmatic research as

> [pragmatic research's] object is not language, speech, grammar, but human communication. Its subjects are not speakers, but people making (different types of) interactional choices […]. (Caffi 1994: 2462)

Nor is it my intention to place the main emphasis on a second, narrower but very generic understanding of metapragmatics, i.e. reflections upon "conditions which make speakers' use of language possible and effective" (Caffi 1994: 2461). In this field of research, the main focus has been to analyse speakers' intentions and the effects created when engaging in conversations. Conversational maxims, cooperative principles between participants (e.g. Grice 1975), and the analysis of utterances as speech acts with a message (locution), a speaker's intention (illocution) and a communicative effect (perlocution, see e.g. Austin 1962, and Searle 1979) only denote the main elements of a strand of research that reached its peak in the 70s and attempted to track down universals in human communication. And yet, there is some controversy over whether or not such "abstractions and theoretical conclusions" that help explain communicative behaviour (see quote Hübler forthc. below) should be seen as metapragmatic at all. Even though such research has been labelled "metapragmatics" in the past, it is not the way metapragmatics is primarily defined for the purposes of this study.

With the help of Caffi's definition of a more practical research focus of metapragmatics, I would like to contrast the two aspects of metapragmatic research described above with the more applied strand leading to my focus on classroom discourse.

> [this research strand of metapragmatics] is concerned with the investigation of that area of the speakers' competence which reflects the judgements of appropriateness on one's own and other people's communicative behaviour. This metapragmatics deals with the know-how regarding the control and planning of, as well as feedback on, the ongoing interaction. […]. The knowledge it incorporates leaves traces on the surface of discourse. (Caffi 1994: 2461-2462)

Caffi (1994: 2464) notes that communicative partners, when evaluating the appropriateness of their communicative options, "[…] can, in an overall communicative strategy, negotiate the degree of directness, explicitness, or politeness as one goes along". This ability to apply language reflexively for general pragmatic purposes (e.g. finding out if the partner's illocutionary force behind a message has been understood correctly) is of course, to a certain degree, inherent in any conversational sequence between participants. As a result, it is crucial to distinguish between my understanding of "metapragmatics" (based on Hübler and Bublitz 2007) and the general term "pragmatics". Indeed, on this subject, Hübler (forthc.), in his handbook article "Metapragmatics" in *Foundations of Pragmatics* (*Handbooks of Pragmatics 1)*, states that

> […] it may be prudent to control its deployment and avoid it where it is not necessary. A case in point is the use of the term metapragmatics, where the term pragmatics actually suffices. If we define 'pragmatics' as the discipline which has interpersonal communication as its object, then it goes without saying that all abstractions and theoretical conclusions which help explain communicative behaviour form part of this discipline, in fact they are defining features of the discipline. (Hübler forthc.)

I fully agree that the close descriptions of classroom interaction (i.e. initiation of turns, code selection, etc.) and the effects of such interactions e.g. with reference to Gricean maxims, must not per se be labelled "metapragmatic". Hübler concludes that "separat[ing] such theoretical stances or constructs from the discipline that developed them seems to make little sense" (forthc.).

In my classroom context, however, it is the distinction between a first level of classroom content and a more "contemplative" level beyond such immediate classroom content that defines what makes a communicative effort by a teacher or a pupil in class either pragmatic or metapragmatic. In short, I suggest a clear line of separation between what interactants achieve pragmatically on the content level of discourse (discussing e.g. course book topics, etc.) and what their pragmatic efforts actually achieve beyond such first level of discourse (thus metapragmatic).

Therefore, I will develop this distinction between propositional first level of discourse and metapragmatic level with project data before even introducing my categorisation system of metapragmatics in chapter 4. It must be stressed again that the term "metapragmatics" and its corresponding adjective "metapragmatic" emphasise interactants' oral efforts when actively moving to a metalevel of discourse for the moment-by-moment negotiations beyond a given classroom content.

Breaking down the term "metapragmatics" in the forthcoming *Foundations of Pragmatics* (*Handbooks of Pragmatics 1)*, Hübler critically adds that metapragmatics "may be, in the end, an all too generous term" (forthc.). I have therefore attempted to develop my understanding of the term by finding links to both sociolinguistic and more applied linguistic positions. In addition, I have made a specific effort to point out that the "meta" aspect in general may be used for a variety of aspects in and outside the field of linguistics. With reference to especially Caffi, Hübler and Bublitz above, I have also narrowed down the term so that it can be applied in my classroom setting. In the remaining two subchapters of this introduction to the research field, I would like first to summarise some "meta" aspects discussed above (see 3.3) and then comment on the relevance of this study with four research questions (see 3.4).

3.3 Terminological Overview

Bold references indicate how various concepts and terms revolving around "meta" (discussed above) have influenced this study. The column "Relevance for this study" lists how some aspects have been adopted in the analysis of my data (plus sign "+"), but also why others have been turned down (minus sign "-"). Admittedly, this summary table is simplified. Nevertheless, in the interest of a general overview before spelling out the research questions, I would venture to claim that it serves a valuable purpose.

Sociolinguistic Strand of "Meta"

Author	Term	Description	Relevance for this study
Jaworski Coupland and Galasinski	Metalanguage	Metalanguage as inherent in everyday social interaction to gloss over propositional meaning in order to evaluate language socially	- too broad, i.e. situation in everyday language use, lack of classroom-pragmatic purpose of "meta" + social evaluative component adopted in my category **"norm-of-interaction metapragmatics" (see chapter 8)**
Verschueren	Metapragmatic Awareness consisting of Explicit and Implicit Metalanguage	Explicit Metalanguage: message about message / message about code Implicit Metalanguage: code about message / code about code	- Implicit Metalanguage lacks a classroom-pragmatic purpose of "meta" + Explicit Metalanguage as one component of Metapragmatic Awareness, i.e. message about message, adopted in my category **"focus-on-form metapragmatics" (see chapter 5)** message about code adopted in my category **"focus-on-meaning metapragmatics" (see chapter 6)**
Kulbrandstad Niedzielski Preston (etc)	Folk Metalanguage	non-linguists' beliefs about language in general	- lack of classroom-pragmatic purpose of "meta" often diachronic orientation of research, not compatible with this study

Table 6: Sociolinguistic terminology

Applied Strand of "Meta"

Approach	Author	Term	Description	Relevance for this study
Logico-linguistic Approach	Jakobson	framework of communicative functions (context, message, channel, code) Metalingual Function	Metalingual Function as checking and detaching oneself from the code, i.e. commenting on interaction as glossing activity over propositional meaning of message	- lack of classroom-pragmatic purpose of "meta"
	Berry	Metalanguage vs. Object Language	Metalanguage as a clear-cut distinguishable entity from Object Language	- situation with two clearly distinguishable codes does not apply to classroom setting
Semiotic-functional Approach	Andrews	Teacher Metalinguistic Awareness Teacher Language Awareness	terms comprising the knowledge about language (subject matter knowledge) as well as knowledge of language (language proficiency)	+ foreign language perspective of Andrews - referring to knowledge base of teacher without close analysis of how such a knowledge base results in metapragmatics in the classroom pupils' metalinguistic awareness not explicitly stated **this study sees metapragmatic efforts in the classroom as a joint effort of pupils and teachers (see chapters 5-9)**
	Shulman	Pedagogical Content Knowledge	amalgam of content and pedagogy influencing a teacher on a moment-by-moment basis in the classroom	+ recognition of the importance of pedagogical knowledge in the classroom - lack of clear connection between how pedagogical knowledge influences ongoing metapragmatics in the classroom **this study does not analyse teachers' feedback and evaluations of their classroom actions from a pedagogical perspective as such evaluative comments were not collected**
	Borg	Metatalk vs Metalanguage	explicit talk about grammar with pupils in the classroom vs the use of grammatical terminology	+ Metatalk as explicit talk about grammar focus of communicative purpose of both teachers and pupils, **therefore labelled metapragmatics in this study** - study of metatalk in classroom setting and asking teachers about it in interviews **this study does not analyse teachers' feedback and evaluations of their classroom actions from a pedagogical perspective as such evaluative comments were not collected (see above)**

	Basturkmen, Loewen, Ellis	Focus on Form Metalanguage vs Focus on Forms Metalanguage	explicit talk about language with a distinction of whether overall classroom focus was on communication (focus on form) or on discrete grammar points (focus on forms)	- artificial distinction between focus on form and focus on forms (in my lessons, no neat distinction can be made between overall communicative and grammar sequences) focus on individual and rather arbitrary metalinguistic terms unclear distinction between technical and non-technical metalinguistic terms **this study focuses on metapragmatic acts between participants rather than individual and isolated terms**
	Hübler and Bublitz	Metapragmatics	meta-utterances employed to intervene in ongoing classroom discourse	+ **notion of metapragmatics adopted in this study**

Table 7: Applied linguistic terminology

3.4 Research Questions – Research Relevance

The study of a formal instructional and interactive context with the existing data at secondary school is carried out for the following main reasons. Not only can metapragmatic comments studied for primary school settings and university education be complemented with material from secondary schools (Bublitz and Hübler 2007, provide insight into primary and university contexts), but there is also an opportunity to analyse metapragmatics of different contexts and academic tracks. The comparative and contrastive setting of two sites with a gradation from the strongest to the weakest academic track (i.e. tracks A-C in both Stätten and Alpegg) presents a diverse picture and allows for a number of research questions.

Given that metapragmatics in its applied notion is defined as communication to achieve a communicative purpose, and the focus being placed both on what is being discussed metapragmatically and how this is organised as a means to an end, the following research questions emerge.

1) What are the metapragmatic acts (MPAs) applied in the selected classroom settings? (Functional Categorisation of MPAs)

2) What are the differences of metapragmatics in operation at the two sites and three tracks observed? (Contrastive Perspective of MPAs)

3) How is metapragmatic negotiation hierarchically organised in the classroom context?

Considering my particular focus on the above-mentioned duality of communication in Habermas' terms (1984, see above) with the propositional first level of discourse on a given content established in the foreign language classroom, I would like to pay particular attention to how shifting to the metapragmatic level of discourse is achieved. Having interpreted the communicative efforts in the foreign language classroom as a challenge for both teachers and pupils alike, I wish to draw attention to their joint efforts when moving between these levels with my fourth research question.

4) How do interactants manage to direct ongoing discourse to a metapragmatic level and how do those being addressed align themselves to such efforts?

I will develop my categorisation system (i.e. research question 1) in the next chapter as a starting point for a detailed analysis of metapragmatic work in the context of teaching English as a foreign language. Additionally, in the analysis chapters 5-9, I will focus on research question 2, i.e. compare and contrast the metapragmatic categories across sites and classes. This will lead to an understanding of how interactants deal with communication on both propositional and metapragmatic levels (i.e. research question 4) and how metapragmatic categories are structured hierarchically (i.e. research question 3).

Before introducing the categorisation system in the next chapter, I would like to conclude this chapter by referring to the relevance and value of my research, especially regarding my approach to the field as a researcher.

First of all, I not only experienced acceptance as a researcher in both urban Stätten as well as rural Alpegg, but in fact felt that teachers' and pupils' familiarisation with the researcher added to this study enormously. I am aware of the fact that a researcher, striving to be unobtrusive, must maintain the role of a somehow detached person in order to gather classroom material that reflects the metapragmatic situation, no matter what I had anticipated or even hoped to find.

Nevertheless, I hope that the "closeness" felt in both sites contributed to the quality of data collected. I have previously mentioned (see 2.5) that research in actual classrooms, especially with the use of recording equipment, may indeed create a somewhat artificial classroom atmosphere. However, the process of being accepted as "one of them" in both Stätten and Alpegg (a development that I had hoped for but could by no means take for granted), allayed my apprehension about possibly observing lessons that might not be a reflection of reality. Giving reasons for being accepted in the field is not too easy, but it is my strong belief that all participants saw me as a person they got along with well rather than a "mere" researcher. And to a certain degree, this was initiated by me. In retrospect, I realise that in rural Alpegg I stressed that I was born and bred in the equally rural and small-scale Glarnerland when discussing with pupils, teachers and school board members. In the urban setting of Stätten, by way of contrast, I rather defined myself as a currently Zurich-based person. In other words, the growing familiarity of all participants with me as a research person can be seen as a joint effort on the part of them and myself; i.e. my portrayal as a person sharing their identities and their acceptance of my stance beyond the mere position of a researcher in an unfamiliar setting.

Secondly, based on Fischli (2004) on the subject of classroom interaction in Swiss context PE lessons, I have noted that a certain identification with interaction of non-native English speakers in German-speaking Switzerland helped me in the collecting and analysing of the data in this study. The advantage of a trained eye for classroom interaction and the ability to support classroom recordings with valuable field notes resulted, I feel, in a more 3-dimensional set of classroom data compared with when I first embarked on such observations as a Master's student at university.

Finally, I have already mentioned in chapter 2 that in addition to the primary material of classroom observation by means of audio and video recordings, a master file with additional language biographical as well as demographic information was collected for each and every pupil and teacher in the classrooms. Despite the fact that this data will not directly be linked to the metapragmatic analysis of this study, analysis of lesson extracts will nevertheless be influenced by such data.

Chapter 4: Metapragmatic Categories

4.1 Approach to Categories

Structuring metapragmatic communication into different categories has proved to be a challenging undertaking. As the existing set of data at both sites is interactional and therefore by definition "ongoing", particular attention must be paid to drawing up boundaries and separating one metapragmatic comment or discussion from another. In order to analyse such classroom data, I suggest that metapragmatic communication clusters together into "metapragmatic units". Such units may consist of only one metapragmatic comment but may equally be a cluster of various turns within a stretch of discourse. In other words, the categories of the metapragmatic system outlined below must be seen as flexible units with respect to who initiates them and how they develop during the ongoing discourse in the classroom. I will argue that the initiating metapragmatic comment may well (and in fact often does) trigger a discussion on a metalevel of discourse. The analysis of the material at hand will focus essentially on how understanding can be successfully achieved, i.e. especially how the teacher manages to direct his/her pupils to engage in such metapragmatic discourse and how both communicative parties ensure successful understanding within the same metapragmatic field (see suggested categories below).

Before I outline the categorisation system with a selected extract from a lesson transcript at one school, it is necessary to track down the notion of metalevel discourse once more. I decided to do so owing to the fact that in the process of labelling metapragmatic comments, Istarted to wonder if the organisation of speech, e.g. a teacher's retrospective comment and reference to a previous lesson such as *what did we discuss last time,* should be interpreted as metapragmatic (Smith and Liang 2007: 173 also label such comments metapragmatic, i.e. "metarepresentational"). However, I will show with the lesson extract below that it is the distinction between a "propositional" level of lesson content and a second more language contemplative "metapragmatic" floor that defines my categorisation system and must be seen as my analytical point of departure. Talk organisation will be interpreted as discussion on the first level of propositional content and thus will not find its way into the metapragmatic categorisation system suggested in this study.

In short, Ipropose that interactants in the classroom resort to a metalevel of discourse when communication is geared towards a contemplation of the target language structure beyond the immediate content of the lesson. This may be the case when an explicit focus lies on "grammar" or "vocabulary" or when certain "behavioural norms" of interaction are addressed in class. In addition, the analysis of data suggests that a form of metapragmatics can be identified as well when the language becomes a tool "to play with" beyond the grammatical structures to be learned in the lessons. It must be noted that it cannot automatically be assumed that all interactants as communicative partners in a given classroom situation switch to a metapragmatic level of discourse at the same time. My analysis will in fact show that miscommunication may indeed be based on this exact duality and mismatch of propositional as well as metapragmatic level in classroom discourse. The above-mentioned broad reference to the categorisation system (see labels between inverted commas for emphasis) will be elaborated in the continuation of this chapter.

I would like to stress that the metapragmatic categorisation system presented is centred on an instance-related (i.e. moment-by-moment) focus of teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction. As a result, discourse structural features within identified metapragmatic elements will be given attention as well. This means that the analysis of metapragmatic comments goes beyond the labelling stage and in fact mainly involves a close description of the interactive situation in discourse analytical tradition. Therefore, in the data analysis presented in this study, the allocation of turns, identification of speaker overlaps or interactants' use of different language codes, do not have to be neglected simply because the main linguistic focus is on the metapragmatic level of discourse. On the contrary, I suggest that the concept of propositional as well as metapragmatic discourse level in the classroom can only be sufficiently identified and analysed through adequate description of what is "going on" in terms of discourse organisation. Thus, discourse analytical description according to emerging criteria such as the bullet-pointed items referred to below must be seen as an analytical tool for the description of the metapragmatic level at hand. As such discourse features can be found on the propositional first level of discourse as well, however, these interactive features must not be seen as indicators for metapragmatic work. Instead, they are the "flesh" around the "bone" that also needs to be taken into account when describing the nature of the "bone", i.e. in this case metapragmatics itself.

As the analysis of classroom discourse often places a close focus on the participation structure at its point of departure, the IRE structure proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), i.e. initiation, response, evaluation, will be used to describe metapragmatic discourse as well. However, establishing a clear linkage between the IRE structure and the suggested metapragmatic clustering is neither sought nor of any analytical interest in this study. Despite the fact that the initiation of a metapragmatic act as the metapragmatic cluster referred to above (i.e. MPA) is essential in the establishment of a metalevel between participants, responses vary greatly. They strongly depend on the success of the initiator to direct his/her interactional other to such metalevel of discourse or the importance assigned to such metalevel between participants. The more important a metalevel seems to be for participants, the longer and more elaborate the metapragmatic act becomes. Thus, the IRE structure as turn-taking organisation that the presented lessons are based on, certainly shapes metapragmatic negotiation, but of course can equally be found on what I will call the first level of propositional classroom content.

In order to provide a link between the participant-oriented clustering chosen to describe metapragmatic elements and the actual topics and subjects treated in the lessons, initial transcript analysis was carried out by using an ethnomethodological approach (Bohnsack 1993). In a first step, all lessons were described on the content level, i.e. detailed summaries of all lessons according to topics/subtopics and interaction/turns were developed ("Formulierende Interpretation" 'formulating interpretation', see Bohnsack 1993: 132ff). This methodological first step was chosen as the above-mentioned topical and interactional summaries of each lesson provide a good starting point for a moment-by-moment analysis of the discourse patterns in the classrooms. It must also be noted that especially the possibility of switching between the broader topical summary and close interactional transcript has proved to be of great value when zooming in and out with regard to the identification of metapragmatic categories.

Parallel to the production of topical and interactional summaries and in line with Bohnsack's approach to transcript material, I drew up both thematic and interactional trajectories at an initial stage of data description. These trajectories delineate the process of topic management and interactional activity from the beginning of a lesson to the end. Bohnsack (1993: 137) uses the term "Dramaturgie" of the lesson to describe what the aim of these trajectories at the analytical point of departure is; finding those passages in the lessons where, on the one hand,

interesting topical changes occur (e.g. a switch from the past continuous of a course book based grammar activity to a passage where the teacher asks pupils about their own real-word experiences), or where interaction itself becomes particularly active or breaks down altogether.

High interactional activity was identified according to a number of criteria that emerge from the transcripts when drawing up the above-mentioned trajectories of lesson dramaturgy. Criteria are listed as bullet-pointed items below.

- Higher participation of pupils, e.g. the ability to rephrase sentences or initiating turns by themselves
- Lengths of their contributions (developing from very short phrases or even one-word utterances to longer sentences)
- Language choice
- Occurrence of language play
- Emotional manifestations (i.e. expressions of feelings)
- Metaphorical density (i.e. use of swear words, e.g. *it sucks*, or non-verbal, total-physical-response features, gestures, etc.)
- Interactive collaboration (i.e. participants' active reference to each other, harmonious development of turns)

In terms of thematic trajectory, it was mainly the establishment of a link between course book material and real-world experiences that marked thematically relevant sequences in the lesson transcripts. I will discuss this link in the analysis chapters more extensively.

As can be seen in the delineation of data approach above, I have made a particular effort to obtain a metapragmatic categorisation system that is based on the interactional structures prevalent in the classrooms. Therefore, e.g. IRE structures will be given particular attention when describing metapragmatic elements. In addition, by approaching the material from an interactional but also topical point of view, I will analyse metapragmatic elements as negotiation that has a different focus than discussions on the propositional level of discourse, but which can in fact be described with traditional discourse analytical tools such as turn-taking, overlaps and code selection, etc.

I will show that metapragmatic classroom work does not necessarily go in line with the above-mentioned criteria for high interactional activity but that some of the criteria listed have been developed into the metapragmatic categorisation system suggested in this study (e.g. language play). Also, a pre-analytical focus on topic negotiation (i.e. thematic trajectory of each lesson) regarding the main analysis of metapragmatic work, will enable me to link the classroom metalevel to observed topical peaks such as a switch to real-world issues rather than a focus on fictional course book topics.

In summarising my approach to metapragmatic discourse in the classroom setting, I feel that two relevant positions must be highlighted before suggesting the metapragmatic framework in the next section. Metapragmatic work within identified categories

- varies greatly in length and is thus summarised as flexible metapragmatic elements or metapragmatic acts (MPAs)

- can, and indeed must, be described by using traditional discourse analytical tools in order to track down the pragmatic effect it carries on the metafloor (i.e. metapragmatic effect)

4.2 Framework of Analysis

4.2.1 Categorisation Extract

In view of the qualitative approach of this study with a detailed classroom focus on selected English lessons and the lack of existing literature that would suggest a metapragmatic categorisation system within a similar context, the framework suggested below must be seen as emerging from my set of data. For such a bottom-up approach, I have chosen one extract (C1 for categorisation extract 1) that permits a development of my categorisation system. It is taken from the second lesson in the strongest academic track in the rural site of Alpegg, Appenzell. The extract stretches over four pages and yet is printed in full, owing to the identification of various different metapragmatic categories in an ongoing stretch of discourse. However, some information must be provided regarding the analysis before discussing detailed categories below.

In 4.2.2 below, I will highlight the arguably most important distinction that must be made when engaging in metapragmatic research in such a classroom setting or in fact, metapragmatic research in any given context. My aim will be to define the propositional first level discourse and identify propositional content that is either fictional (i.e. often course-book based fictional storyline) or related to the real world. In this way, a contrast can be established with the actual focus of analysis in this study, i.e. the metapragmatic categories. In 4.2.3, a distinction will be made between different metapragmatic categories; "focus-on-form", "focus-on-meaning" and "focus-on-function" metapragmatics. I will suggest that focus on form as the (by far) most predominant metapragmatic category in the data set analysed revolves around discussions on either designated grammar topics or on grammar mistakes occurring on a moment-by-moment basis of interaction. By way of contrast, focus-on-meaning metapragmatics will be referred to as metapragmatic negotiation that has the aim of clarifying a lexical item based on pupils' incorrect use of it, a teacher's intention to check on some vocabulary, or pupils' efforts to find out difficult vocabulary as initiators to such a metapragmatic discourse themselves. In addition, I will contrast focus on form and meaning with a much less frequent metapragmatic category, i.e. focus-on-function metapragmatics. Here, metapragmatic comments deal with the intention behind a statement on the propositional level (e.g. *was that a compliment?*). And finally, in 4.2.4, I will argue against adopting "comprehension questions"(e.g. *did you understand this*?) as well as the teacher's "organisation of talk" (e.g. *Jessica .. take the next sentence*) as metapragmatic. Also, I will contend that negotiation over "norms of interaction" (e.g. *you have to speak in English*) or instances of "language play" (e.g. a pupil's reference to a dialogue being acted out in a group of three as a *trialog*) be metapragmatic indeed.

I have decided against making explicit line references with cited examples of the extract in this introductory passage to C1, as it would obscure straightforward reading and be detrimental to the overview I wish to present at this stage. For initial reading of C1 before detailed development of metapragmatic categorisation from 4.2.2-4.2.5, however, context information must be given and will be found in the paragraph below.

The designated topic of the lesson being famous TV soaps based on a unit in the course book, the teacher in this sequence relates to a grammatical structure of the previous lesson in particular, i.e. the past form of the verb *to be*, and asks pupils to tell him about their past experiences. Highlighted passages will be elaborated on in the continuation of this chapter

and will result in the framework of analysis as the backbone and core of this study. Both teacher's and pupils' names, as in all transcript material, are pseudonyms and transcription conventions can be found in the appendix (see transcription conventions mainly based on Du Bois 1992). On this note, I would like to stress that in the extracts that I will present in the analysis chapters 5-9, I will number contributions of pupils that could not be attributed to individuals with "Px1", "Px2", etc. In order to simplify the presentation of the categories here, however, only "Px" will be used to refer to unassigned pupils in the conversation below ("Ps" as a collective label refers to a group of pupils or even the whole class).

(C1)

Schwaller: okay these are the names .. can you remember another thing? .. we had three columns .. in the middle I think there what was the easiest column in the middle .. verbs .. we had the verbs is .. follow and .. is .. and then we had four verbs it's -- yeah it's three verbs in the past .. can you write the forms of the past? .. verb forms .. what was that? .. verbs in the past .. twice the same and two others … okay Peter what .. haveyou got?

Peter: ehm was ehm played and became and played two times

Schwaller: great

Px (WHISPERS): became

Schwaller: became yes .. became be careful .. can you give me a sentence with became in it? Sandrine

Sandrine: I became a teacher

Schwaller: I became a teacher yes .. can I say I became a cake? ..(SCHWALLER ASKS AN UNIDENTIFIED PUPIL, Ps LAUGH)

Px: no

Schwaller: no it's not possible otherwise I would have to go the oven and .. ja -- .. became is *werden* in German so I became a teacher .. I *was* is one of the .. past forms of the verb to be .. **Kira .. can you tell me about your past? I was .. [yesterday] or the day before yesterday or last Sunday .. I was --?**

Kira: [ähm]

Kira: ehm last weekend I was .. ehm .. in the swimming pool

Schwaller: okay .. what was she Mario? .. last weekend she --?

Mario: last weekend she was .. in the swimming pool

24 Schwaller: right .. Rico .. I was --?

25 Rico: I was born in nineteen ninety-one

26 Schwaller: Mia .. he --?

27 Mia: he was born in nineteen ninety-one

28 Schwaller: great .. Claudius I was --?

29 Claudius: I was .. in the holidays in Italy

30 Schwaller: in the holidays on holiday in Italy .. yes .. Regula he --?

31 Regula: I was sing - (SCHWALLER INTERRUPTS)

32 Schwaller: no he --?

33 Regula: he wa=s in the holiday in Italy

34 Schwaller: on the holiday in Italy

35 Regula: on the holiday in Italy

36 Schwaller: yes .. Sebastian I was --?

37 Sebastian: I was last weekend at .. the badi

38 Schwaller: what? (MOVES CLOSER)

39 Sebastian: badi

40 Schwaller: at the forren badi

41 Sebastian: last weekend I was at the forren badi

42 Schwaller: yes .. Rita he --?

43 Rita: last weekend he was in the for - forum badi

44 Schwaller: in the forren badi

45 Rita: [in the forren badi]

46 Schwaller: [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]

47 Rita: ah in the forren

48 Schwaller: is it at or in the forren badi?

49 Rita: in

Schwaller: can be in because you have to pay an entrance to go in .. but you can also be at -- .. Raphaela .. I was --?

Raphaela: I was at home

Schwaller: when?

Raphaela: yesterday .. yesterday I was at home

Schwaller: yesterday I was at home .. good (SCHWALLER INDICATES TO OLAF TO REPEAT)

Olaf: yesterday she was at home

Schwaller: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) Gezime

Gezime: mmh yes ehm I was .. looking TV .. yesterday

Schwaller: looking?

Gezime: ehm I was looked [TV]

Px: [watched]

Gezime: I was look [[TV]]

Px: [[watched]]

Gezime: ehm I was watch TV

Schwaller: yes good great .. I was watching TV yesterday (SCHWALLER INDICATES TO TIMO TO REPEAT)

Timo: ehm (CLEARS HIS VOICE) she was watching TV yesterday

Schwaller: good .. Felix

Felix: ehm yesterday I was in the Höhi

Schwaller: what?

Felix: ähm Höhi ähm --

Schwaller: ah

Felix: Hundwiler Höhi

Schwaller: on Hundwiler Höhe (NAME PRONOUNCED IN GERMAN) .. right .. Klarissa .. where was he yesterday?

Klarissa: yesterday he was on= Hundwiler Höhe

78 Schwaller: right .. Sascha

79 Sascha: yesterday I was on holiday in ehm ehm .. Japan (Ps LAUGH)

80 Px: sicher

81 Schwaller: okay you can be that because you can be wherever you want in your head ..
82 Doris

83 Doris: yesterday he was in holiday .. on holiday in Japan

84 Schwaller: yes okay .. Paula

85 Paula: yesterday I was sleep

86 Schwaller: you were --?

87 Paula: sleep

88 Schwaller: I was sleeping

89 Paula: äh *sleeping*

90 Schwaller: yes .. Sandrine

91 Sandrine: yesterday she was sleeping

92 Schwaller: yes .. were you at home yesterday? .. Peter

93 Peter: yeah

94 Schwaller: you were at home?

95 Peter: yeah yesterday I was at home

96 Schwaller: right right I think this is no problem for you past I was and he was .. what
97 are the other persons of .. the verb to be .. was and was for I and he .. and for the
98 others it's --? .. Gezime (WHO RAISES HER HAND)

99 Gezime: were

100 Schwaller: right

4.2.2 Propositional 1st Level of Discourse

Prior to differentiating the discourse metalevel into different categories, I would like to concentrate on the non-meta, i.e. first level of discourse. In so doing, I will henceforth refer to it as propositional content of the lesson. In a binary pair of first vs. second level of interaction or propositional vs. metalevel of discourse, one entity ultimately presupposes the other. The departure point for the metapragmatic analysis in this study therefore is the identification and description of the propositional content level in the classroom.

With regard to the extract above, the following two groups can be distinguished; fictional propositional content and real-world content. The former refers to sequences where the classroom content is not linked to the real-world experiences of the speaker. In other words, from the speaker's point of view, a fictional sequence has nothing to do with his/her memorised experiences of the world. The latter, in contrast, links to exactly this: a speaker's perception of his/her world. Initial classroom analysis has shown that on the propositional first level of discourse interaction between teachers and pupils, a distinction must be made into sequences that are fictional and other passages that, on the contrary, revolve around the real identities of participants involved. In addition, with reference to the extract (C1) above, it will be shown that certain propositional content falls in between the purely fictional and real-world domains. This is the case when a given content can be seen as taken from a real-world context but does not link to either teachers' or pupils' real identities at all. An example of this real-world context which lacks a direct connection to interactants in class will be referred to below. However, before providing examples of real-word content in the various forms observed in the data presented, I will first focus on an instance of fictional propositional content.

Lines 10-13 (**in bold**) show an example of a fictional content level that the teacher, Mr Schwaller, initiates on the basis of his assumption that *become* as a false friend for German-speaking language learners (*become* ≠ German 'bekommen') needs clarifying. Despite the fact that Schwaller's request from Sandrine to produce a sentence with *became* does not per se ask for a fictional content, the pupil nevertheless establishes a propositional content that is fictional from her point of view. This is an example where the pupil has complete freedom of choice in either producing a fictional or non-fictional content sentence. It can, however, be shown that the teacher or the course book often dictates another propositional level, i.e. classroom content that is non-fictional and either so general as to be true for all participants

involved (i.e. impersonal course book content) or of the type that it fulfils individual truth conditions for the person producing an utterance.

In a lengthy lead-in to (C1) shown above, the teacher establishes a propositional classroom content at the beginning of the lesson by asking pupils if they remember the course book topic of soap operas that they had worked on in the previous lesson. He re-establishes a propositional content that is true for all participants involved as displayed content taken from the course book both pupils and the teacher have access to. Although Schwaller's first utterance in the extract above already shows an instance of metawork that will be referred to briefly, line 1, with reference to *names* (i.e. *these are the names*), and Schwaller's question as to pupils can remember *another thing*, clearly suggest that he bases his elaborations on a previously established propositional content – in this case a real-world content outside pupils' immediate experiences.

Such propositional content, although being true and non-fictional for all participants involved, is impersonal, based on a prefabricated structure of the course book and thus differs decisively from another propositional real-world content presented later. Lines 18-23 (**in bold**) illustrate Schwaller's turns with two pupils as the opening of another type of propositional content that stretches to the end of (C1). Mr Schwaller opens a content frame on the propositional first level of discourse by addressing Kira's immediately experienced past. Her answer, i.e. *last weekend I was in the swimming pool* is based on her (at least claimed) experienced past, and thus represents a true propositional content for Kira. It must be noted that individual truth conditions matter in this second type of propositional real-world content. As a result, in order to allow Mario to remain within the established propositional content of pupils' own experienced past, the teacher applies a deictic shift when asking him to report what Kira was doing (I→she). In addition, he truncates the question to ensure that Mario stays within the proposed sentence structure when uttering Kira's statement himself (note that his propositional real-world utterance based on Kira's experience *last weekend she was in the swimming pool* would become a fictional label sentence if Mario simply repeated Kira's statement *last weekend I was in the swimming pool*).

As my prime research interest is the study of metapragmatic negotiations between participants in the classroom, it is essential to have identified propositional content as a separate unit. And still, the above choice of the lesson extract is mainly due to the fact that within the 100-line extract, the following three metapragmatic categories can be identified; "focus-on-form", "focus-on-meaning" and "focus-on-function" metapragmatics. Each category will be described with reference to (C1) in the following section.

4.2.3 Distinction of Metafloors

Within the category labelled "focus-on-form" metapragmatics, data suggests the distinction of two broad types. On the one hand, a metapragmatic "focus-on-form" sequence may be based on the main grammatical topic of the lesson. On the other hand, (C1) will also reveal that such "focus-on-form" metapragmatics can equally be triggered by a grammatical problem that arises in ongoing discourse and, importantly, has not previously been introduced by the teacher as the main grammatical topic of the sequence.

Focusing on the first type, lines 1-10 (see extract) show that the teacher moves from the collective mode of talking about the propositional content of soaps as the content of the previous as well as actual lesson to a grammatical metalevel; he does so by explicitly requesting pupils to concentrate on and write down the *forms of the past* (line 4). Rather than presenting the forms himself, he asks Peter to produce the past forms (i.e. **was**, **became** and **played**, see **bold** below) that occur in the extract from the soap *Neighbours* that pupils have read in class before. The short classroom text sequence is given below.

> Ramsey Street in Australia is the imaginary setting for one of the world's most successful soaps. Millions of people follow the lives of characters in *Neighbours*. Its most famous performer is Kylie Minogue, who **became** a star in the soap. She **played** Charlene and Jason Donovan **played** her boyfriend Scott – Jason **was** later Kylie's boyfriend in real life. And now another *Neighbours* star, Holly Valance, is making a career as a singer.

Mr Schwaller thus establishes a metalevel of discourse about the past forms as the designated grammatical focus he wants to pursue in the lesson at hand. I will show in the analysis of the lesson material at both sites that such teacher-initiated explicit focus-on-the-form aspect of English represents the largest field of metapragmatic work in this study. Considering the fact that the teacher undoubtedly organises classroom interaction more than anyone else, such teacher-initiated focus-on-form metapragmatics can be predicted. Nevertheless, it will be shown that metapragmatic stretches may vary from only short metapragmatic inputs of the teacher without pupils' contributions on the metalevel to lengthy stretches of discourse that involve pupils' explicit interaction on such metafloor. I will also present metapragmatic sequences that develop from pupils' requests for clarification on a designated grammatical focus of the lesson.

Taking a look at (C1) again, lines 48-51 (see extract) display a teacher-initiated metapragmatic input that differs from the one previously discussed and gives an example of the second type of "focus-on-form" metapragmatics introduced above. Within the lesson sequence where the teacher asks pupils to produce sentences about their past on a propositional level of content related to their experienced past (referred to above with reference to **bold** passage, lines 18-23), Mr Schwaller inputs on the grammatical subject of prepositions that are not the main grammatical focus of the sequence. In other words, the metapragmatic focus-on-form sequence in this case develops on the basis of the teacher's recognition of a pupil's grammar mistake outside the main grammatical focus of a sequence. In practice, in this sequence the grammatical focus is the past simple of the verb *to be,* and yet the teacher comments on the correct use of prepositions, especially as Sebastian suggests that *in* and Rita *at the swimming pool* is correct (note that the teacher does not correct the Swiss German word *badi* 'swimming pool' at all). A metapragmatic focus on form may thus develop within the grammatical focus of a lesson sequence but equally be initiated when the teacher considers an explicit metapragmatic input adequate, based on a pupil's mistake or possibly the teacher's assumption that the input on a minor grammatical topic be relevant. In this case, the prepositions *in* and *at* are grammatically acceptable, so the teacher does in fact not correct a pupil's mistake but inputs on a grammar point outside the main focus of the past simple of the lesson.

Data analysis will show that explicit metapragmatic negotiation with a focus on form is mainly triggered by a pupil's grammar mistake that may either be the main or a minor grammatical focus of the lesson. Examples will also be given, however, where the teacher simply ignores a certain grammar mistake or corrects the mistake without developing the conversation into an explicit focus-on-form metasequence. The former type will be labelled "Zero type" within focus-on form metapragmatics, as the absence of any correction or explicit metacomment on a certain grammar mistake. It must be stressed that the label "Zero type" merely refers to the absence of both direct grammar correction and explicit metacomment on a linguistic basis rather than carrying information about whether the teacher actually noticed a grammar mistake at all. In other words, "Zero-type", focus-on-form sequences are extracts where a grammar mistake occurs that the teacher either notices or not (without asking the teacher explicitly, this is, in any case, purely a matter of speculation) but which neither entails a grammar correction nor a metapragmatic input by the teacher.

An example of direct grammar correction based on a pupil's grammar mistake can be found in the extract above. In line 29, Claudius tells his teacher and his classmates that he was *in the holidays in Italy*. Schwaller in this case opts against making the incorrect prepositional use a grammatical topic worthy of explicit focus-on-form meta-input but instead simply corrects Claudius' incorrect phrase to *on holiday in Italy*. Such direct correction of an occurring grammar mistake will be labelled "type A" within the overall metapragmatic category of focus on form. It must be stressed, however, that such direct grammar correction cannot be seen as explicit focus-on-form metapragmatics as it simply fails to address a grammar mistake/problem explicitly on a metalevel. In the example given above, it can be argued that the main grammatical focus of the sequence is the pupil's correct production of the past simple of the verb *to be* and therefore any other grammatical mistake is not commented on metapragmatically. I will, however, show in my analysis that a choice of direct grammar correction rather than explicit metapragmatic input on form may indeed also take place when the grammar mistake occurs within the main grammatical focus of the lesson. Focus-on-form metapragmatics will be analysed in the next chapter.

Before I return to (C1) above and some other manifestations of metapragmatic work, reference must be made to literature, i.e. Ciliberti and Anderson (2007: 163). They maintain that it is, first and foremost, the "asymmetry of knowledge distribution" between participants that triggers a pervasiveness of what they call metapragmatic comments. Language

knowledge is, of course, absolutely essential if there is to be effective communication with the interactional other in the foreign language classroom. Identifying such asymmetry to account for the abundance of focus-on-form metacomments would therefore be a defensible form of argument. Suffice it to say at this point that asymmetrical power relations should not be left aside when dealing with the establishment of metalevel discourse on formal language aspects and, more generally, metapragmatic language use in other fields described below.

Having studied metapragmatics on formal aspects of the language related to the extract above, I would like to consider another field of metapragmatic work henceforth labelled "focus-on-meaning" metapragmatics. In line 10, Mr Schwaller moves to a metapragmatic level triggered by the English word *become* as a result of the anticipated difficulty pupils might have with the German word *bekommen* as a false friend. It must be noted that his phrase *became be careful* (line 10, see extract) does not yet specify the type of metapragmatic level. In other words, one could also expect Mr Schwaller's input to be on e.g. the past form of the verb *become*. After introducing to his explicit meta-input by asking a pupil to produce a sentence with *became* (see lines 10-13), the teacher explicitly adopts a focus-on-meaning metafloor in lines 13-17 (see extract) and explains why *I became a cake* cannot be used in English. This metapragmatic sequence thus clearly focuses on the meaning of the English word *become* and therefore differs from metapragmatics on formal language aspects previously discussed. Such metapragmatic negotiation on meaning may, similar to a metapragmatic focus on form, revolve around a topic as the main focus of a sequence. In practice, metapragmatic work on the meaning of words may either be found in sequences where such vocabulary focus is explicitly introduced by the teacher as the main focus within a lesson sequence or be embedded in an overall grammar-oriented lesson context. The latter, as will be shown in chapter 6, represents the more frequent context of metapragmatic work on meaning in my set of data.

With regard to initiation of such metapragmatic work on meaning, the example given has shown that the teacher may comment metapragmatically on meaning based on a potential problem he or she identifies as a form of vocabulary check. In addition, a teacher's metapragmatic input may also be triggered by a pupil's vocabulary mistake (e.g. taking up a pupil's wrong translation of *least* and initiating a clarification with *nicht letztes – least what does least mean?*). And finally, metapragmatic comments on meaning are also frequent when being initiated by pupils. Data analysis will reveal that pupils almost exclusively address their

teacher in German or Swiss German and rarely apply formulaic expressions such as *what does ….. mean*. I will address the focus-on-meaning metapragmatic category in detail in the analysis given in chapter 6.

In addition, there is a third category of metapragmatics that I have identified in the sequence above. In the course of the task of telling the teacher what they were doing in their recent past (i.e. *yesterday I was…*), Sascha produces the fictional sentence *yesterday I was on holiday in Japan* in line 79. He thus breaks with the established framework that the teacher introduces in line 18, where he requests pupils to tell him about their real experiences in the past. An unidentified pupil's comment in line 80 (*sicher* 'sure', see extract) and Mr Schwaller's explicit acceptance of Sascha's fictional statement in line 81 (see extract) must be identified as metapragmatic input, revolving neither around a formal nor a lexical aspect of Sascha's statement. Instead, these metapragmatic comments address the function of Sascha's statement. Within speech act theory (see Austin 1962 and Searle 1979), the metapragmatic comments by the teacher and the unidentified pupil zoom in on Sascha's intention behind the statement (illocution) and the effect the statement might have on the hearer (perlocution). I will develop focus-on-function metapragmatics with reference to the above-mentioned speech act theory in more detail when presenting examples of my data in chapter 9. It must be stressed, however, that this category was the most difficult one to define and a number of decisions had to be made along the way. As metapragmatic comments that focus on the function of a statement are very rare in my settings, I will discuss the difficulties encountered when labelling them, together with practical examples, in the ensuing analysis.

4.2.4 Meta or Non-Meta

There are two additional categories that must either be placed into, or clearly defined as outside of, the suggested metapragmatic framework adopted for analysis. In this section, I will therefore consider the potential meta-aspects of what I will label "comprehension clarification" as well as "talk organisation" in the classrooms.

Comprehension clarification episodes can be found in the extract as well. I will discuss lines 37-39, lines 52-54 and finally lines 85-89 (see extract for clarification questions). In the first example, the teacher asks a short comprehension question *what,* as he arguably has not understood where Sebastian was (i.e. *at the badi* 'swimming pool'). The teacher's inability to

understand Sebastian's input in line 37 is supported by the teacher's non-verbal reaction of moving closer to Sebastian. The fact that Mr Schwaller does not correct the code switch of Sebastian once the pupil has repeated the word, suggests that line 38 indeed must be interpreted as a comprehension clarification question that remains on the propositional level of Sebastian's experienced past.

In the second example from lines 52-54, the teacher recognises that Raphaela has dropped the time reference in her sentence *I was at home* and thus produces the comprehension question *when* to elicit *yesterday* from the pupil. In this case, the teacher's comprehension question clearly aims to elicit more information on the first, i.e. propositional level of discourse. In other words, this second example again displays a comprehension effort by the teacher that must be interpreted outside the language contemplative metapragmatic level.

The third example differs from the previous two as Schwaller's comprehension question in line 86 is triggered by a pupil's grammar mistake. In addition, the teacher truncates his comprehension question, which gives the pupil a chance to either interpret the input as a teacher's request for repetition based on acoustic problems, or else a request for improvement on the language level. Whereas in the first example discussed above, the teacher supports my analysis of acoustic problems by moving closer to the pupil, he does not do so in this case. The continuation of the sequence leaves no doubt that the teacher, with his truncated comprehension question *you were*--, picks up on the pupil's ungrammatical sentence *yesterday I was sleep*, a sentence that he corrects into *I was sleeping* by somehow surprisingly changing the grammatical frame from "to be + subject predicate" to a "past continuous form".

Regarding the interpretation of these comprehension questions as potentially metapragmatic, I have attempted to show that comprehension questions may be triggered by the inability to understand each other acoustically. In addition, the teacher may seek comprehension based on what he/she considers an incomplete sentence on the propositional content level of discourse. And finally, it is only in the last example that the teacher through truncation and direct correction goes beyond the propositional level of classroom discourse. His truncated comprehension question, as well as a "type-A" grammar correction, still fail to explicitly address a grammar point. Comprehension clarification itself therefore cannot be regarded as explicitly metapragmatic. However, comprehension clarification may develop into more

explicit metapragmatic sequences. This can be the case when being produced by the teacher, who then inputs on pupils' answers with more than just a grammar correction format.

It is also noteworthy how the teacher in (C1) organises turns. Starting in line 18, where he asks pupils to tell him about their past, negotiations develop as follows.

1) T eliciting real-world sequence from P1 by truncating question and taking a fictional I perspective of the pupil

   Kira .. can you tell me about your past? I was .. yesterday or the day before or last Sunday .. I was --? (lines 18-19)

2) P1 presenting his/her sentence on the propositional level as a real-world account of his/her experienced past

   last weekend I was .. ehm .. in the swimming pool (line 21)

3) T's positive evaluation of sentence and by truncating question eliciting from P2 to report P1's sentence, remaining in the real-world frame through deictic shift (I→she)

   okay .. what was she Mario?.. last weekend she --? (line 22)

4) P2's report

   last weekend she was in the swimming pool (line 23)

5) T's evaluation

   right (line 24)

Applying this organisation of talk quite rigidly when asking pupils to tell the class about their past and to report on each other's activities, the teacher does not accept deviations from it when being initiated by pupils (see lines 30-33, where the teacher reminds Regula to report Claudius' statement rather than present hers). When the teacher breaks with this structure, this is mainly due to his wish to input on a pupil's language mistake (see line 48) or comprehension clarifications mentioned above (see line 38, 53 or 86). Generally speaking, however, it must be realised that such talk organisation remains solely on the propositional level of discourse and fails to direct the conversation to the above-identified metafloors on either the form, meaning or function of an utterance.

After arguing against considering "comprehension clarification" sequences and "talk organisation" metapragmatic, I would like to draw attention to two remaining categories regarding the meta-aspect in my classroom; "norms of interaction" and "language play". Beginning with the latter, data has shown that there are examples where the foreign language is being played with explicitly. However, as they are not found in the model extract above, (C2) and (C3) below give examples of such language play taken from the set of data of this study. (C2) is taken from the strongest academic track in Stätten. It shows an interaction between three pupils during a group activity where, in their group of three, they have been given the task of producing a fictional dialogue between two girls. The course book topic is au pairs, and pupils have to present their dialogue to the class later on. Translations are provided in *italics*.

(C2)

1 Jonida: O=h loseder nüd zuä zwei personä mached än dialog [ds drittä machemer
2 ein dialog] uf zwei personä bezogä

(*Jonida: O=h don't you listen two people are making a dialogue in threes we're making a dialogue related to two people*)

3 Michele: **[ja .. etz machemer**
4 **halt än trialog**]

(Michele: yes, so now we're making a trialogue)

5 Karola: aha=

6 Michele: dä machemer än trialog

(Michele: then we're making a trialogue)

Jonida takes the lead in this sequence, expressing annoyance at the fact that Karola and Michele do not understand how the teacher has intended their group to work. Michele overlaps Jonida's utterance by playing with the apparent contradiction of working on and later presenting a dialogue in a group of more than two pupils. He does so by replacing the prefix di- with tri- to account for what he believes they actually have to do, i.e. presenting what he calls a *trialog* (**in bold**). Michele, with his suggestion to produce a *trialog,* expresses what could be rephrased within a metapragmatic focus-on-meaning metacategory as follows; *as we are supposed to produce a dialogue in a group of three, why don't we make our contribution reflect the collaboration of three people through the prefix tri-*. In this study, I will consider

playing-on-word sequences metapragmatic in its own right, as clearly, the playing-on-word metalevel differs from the metalevel on meaning. Producing such language play when being relatively unmonitored and thus experimenting with the meaning of certain language structures, pupils may also trigger their teacher to play with the language based on a language mistake.

(C3) is such an instance of a teacher's language play based on a pupil's language mistake. Within the larger sequence from which this example is taken, the teacher refers to the grammar focus of the past continuous of the previous lesson and asks pupils what they were doing at different stages in their experienced past. A dialogue between the teacher and three pupils on the month *May* develops as follows.

(C3)

1 Salome: the thirteenth ehm Mai (/maɪ/)

2 Moser: the thirteenth Mai? (/maɪ/, REPEATING GERMAN PRON) .. what is that? ..
3 Michaela (RAISING HAND)

4 Michaela: the fourteenth of Mai (/maɪ/)

5 Moser: the thirteenth of *Mai* (/maɪ/) .. **mai mai** (/maɪ/ /maɪ/ (SIBYLLE RAISES
6 HER HAND, MOSER SIGNALS NON-VERBALLY)

7 Sibylle: May (/meɪ/)

Being asked about the actual date, Salome responds by pronouncing the month as in German 'Mai' (/maɪ/). The teacher, with his utterance *what is that,* produces a comprehension question that does not explicitly indicate her intention to focus on form aspects of metapragmatics. Michaela nevertheless replies on the formal metapragmatic level by offering the preposition *of* in her date and, interestingly, changing it from *thirteenth* to *fourteenth*. However, she does not correct what the teacher has identified as the core mistake, i.e. a pronunciation error. The teacher's identified main problem of pronunciation becomes apparent in her short input and metapragmatic language play achieved through her utterance *the thirteenth of Mai .. mai mai* (all pronounced /maɪ/). *Mai mai* (**in bold**) in Swiss German with the lexical meaning of warning a child not to do something seems to be understood by Sibylle, who finally pronounces the word correctly.

I have shown two examples where the language is used playfully on the basis of the lexical difference it creates when altering it in a certain way (*dialog→trialog,* suggesting group work of three and *Mai→mai mai,* using the mispronounced word to refer to a Swiss German phrase of warning). For the purpose of the analysis presented, playing on words will be recognised as the metapragmatic effort of either pupil or teacher to give a certain utterance a different meaning by changing it on the lexical level. However, I will also present playing-on-word sequences where such lexical shift does not occur but which nevertheless must be seen as instances of language play. To summarise, in chapter 7 I will analyse playing-on-word sequences achieved by pupils or teachers with or without a shift in meaning.

Finally, one category has emerged clearly in the analysis of the teacher-centred organisation of talk previously discussed. Rather than remaining on the propositional level of interaction when e.g. simply organising the distribution of turns, there are instances where the teachers communicate rules or norms explicitly. I will henceforth classify this category as "norms of interaction" and consider it as metapragmatic, since it transgresses the organisation of speech and makes such organisation the subject of discussion.

Before I go on to show an example of such a classroom norm in ongoing discourse (see (C4)), reference must be made to existing literature. Ciliberti and Anderson (2007) refer to such "norms of verbal behaviour" as well when talking in particular about the primary school classroom, and state that

> in order to successfully participate in the series of classroom activities of which a lesson is composed, pupils and teachers need to share a common understanding of the activity they are engaged in. Metapragmatic discourse in this context serves to establish, maintain and modify the disciplinary, participatory, instructional and intertextual frames on which this understanding is based.
> (Ciliberti and Anderson 2007: 145-146)

Ciliberti and Anderson refer to such comments about "norms of interaction" as being highly social in that the teacher, in a directive nature, mentions what rules participants in the classroom are supposed to adhere to. They also point out that metapragmatic comments "tend to occur in clusters and refer to concrete actions often through a reconstruction of the details of classroom life" (2007: 148) as opposed to metacomments that they identify in university

seminar discussions, where a more predominant focus is placed on terms of relative agreement/disagreement in a discussion topic at hand.

A number of issues brought forward by Ciliberti and Anderson are relevant to the present study of metalevel discourse and explicit reference to classroom norms of interaction. The material discussed in this study is taken from secondary school (pupils in year 8, aged 14) and therefore bridges the two above-mentioned focus areas of primary and university discourse. As will be shown in the analysis, "norms of interaction" are in fact very prominent in the foreign language context, but by and large follow a certain cluster determined by the context of the foreign language classroom. Ciliberti and Anderson's reference to metacomments at university level, and their observed emphasis on a continuum from agreement to disagreement will be contested here for two reasons. The two linguists are vague about a clear distinction between their university-based metapragmatic comments on argumentative positioning and the primary school-based norms of verbal behaviour. I would contend that argumentative positioning (e.g. *I don't agree with you on this*) in the classroom entails quite a different verbal effort compared to the reference to existing norms (e.g. *you have to speak English then I can listen to you*). Furthermore, whereas references to norms of interaction establish a metalevel to relate to ongoing discourse, argumentative positioning does not. Instead, argumentation remains in the "here and now" of the activity and its talk organisation and does not, as references to certain classroom norms do, point to a more general and largely agreed rule from an outside, i.e. metalevel, perspective. As a result, I will not consider argumentative positioning as an aspect of metapragmatic comments on classroom norms but in fact as merely one way of organising talk on the propositional first level discourse.

The example below is taken from a group sequence of an English lesson in the middle academic track of Alpegg and shows an example of a metapragmatic comment that revolves around a "norm of interaction". The small group consisting of three girls and a boy are working on a vocabulary list that they have to produce for the rest of the class, based on a play they will present to each other. Translations are again provided in *italics*.

(C4)

1 Daniela: wa heisst da? (ASKS MOSER)

(Daniela: what does this mean?)

2 Moser: **Daniela .. may I ask you again to speak English?**

3 Daniela: ja but I don't know what this [mean]

4 Moser: [yea] but know how to s- to ask in English
5 [don't you?]

6 Daniela: [jo]

Daniela wants to know what the English word *decided* means. She asks her teacher in Swiss German and, with her teacher's response and initiating metacomment to classroom norms **(in bold)**, is reminded that she should conform to the rule of using the target language English in the classroom. Daniela understands the teacher's request, produces the Swiss German *ja* and switches to the target language to express the fact that she does not actually know what the word means. Ms Moser specifies the norm of interaction expected in class. Daniela closes this metapragmatic sequence on classroom norms with a final agreement on what Ms Moser has expressed, interestingly in Swiss German again.

What can be seen in the extract above is that the teacher's initiating metacomment is triggered by an incorrect use of the code expected in the classroom. The continuation of the sequence does not stop with an agreeing comment by the pupil. In fact, Daniela expresses her inability to solve a vocabulary issue, in this case to translate the word *decided* into Swiss German. Considering Daniela's comment *I don't know what this mean* (line 3), it can be argued that this metapragmatic focus on meaning, when co-occurring with a pupil's code switch into a non-target language, may indeed trigger a teacher's metapragmatic comment on the classroom norm of using English in the lesson. Norms of interaction will be analysed in chapter 8, and the co-occurrence with other categories (such as focus-on-meaning metapragmatics) in chapter 10.

4.2.5 Summary Chart of Propositional/Metalevel of Discourse

The following chart gives an overview of the propositional and metalevel discourse described. With model sentences for the propositional level referring to the real world or to fiction (1R and 1F), corresponding metapragmatic comments on form, meaning and function (i.e. FO, M and FU) are given below to summarise three metapragmatic categories. This summary chart, mainly focusing on form, meaning and function metapragmatics, admittedly refers quite loosely to the additional metapragmatic categories "norms of interaction" and "language play". However, I will develop this chart into a hierarchical system of metapragmatic categorisation in chapter 10, once individual categories have been studied in the analysis chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Norms of Interaction / Language Play

2 META	**Form (FO)**	**Meaning (M)**	**Function (FU)**

1 PROPOSITIONAL	Real World (R)	Fictional (F)

Comprehension Clarification / Organisation of Talk

1R	My father goed to London yesterday (P sentence)
2FO	What's the past form of go? (T question)
2M	Can you explain the meaning of "yesterday"? (T question)
2FU	Is that why you couldn't do your homework? (T question)

1F	The man on the moon eat a lot of spinach (P sentence)
2FO	What do we need to put in the third person singular? (T question)
2M	Does everyone know what spinach is? (T question)
2FU	Do you think we believe you that there is a man on the moon or there is spinach on the moon? (T question)

4.2.6 Interrater Reliability Testing

It must be noted explicitly that "Interrater Reliability Testing" was carried out in order to check the reliability of my categorisation system. In my case, this is absolutely crucial since the system, as indicated earlier, was mainly developed as emerging from the data. In short, the bottom-up approach to my linguistic analysis, with the closely described metapragmatic categories, passed the interrater reliability test.

The final testing period was in May 2009. Percentages for each of the eleven lessons studied, as well as the average percentages for both Stätten and Alpegg, are given below. This amounts to a solid overall interrater reliability of **80 percentage points per lesson**. I would like to add that the acceptable 20% fail rate per class (taking a look at the overall average of 80%), was closely studied and analysed. Individual mismatches between interrater labelling and when it was originally done in the process of data analysis, were spread across all metapragmatic categories (with none dropping below 70%). This means that the categorisation system presented not only passed interrater testing when labelling all instances of metapragmatic acts per class (see averages below), but it also proved reliable with reference to individual categories. In order not to exaggerate percentage references to such interrater quality checking, I have decided against providing percentages for each category as well. However, and I will explicitly mention this again in chapter 9, an earlier round of interrater testing revealed that the work-in-progress category focus-on-function metapragmatics was unreliable. This resulted in a careful re-analysis of this individual metapragmatic category before interrater testing was carried out in May 2009 again (and the percentages presented here refer to the second round of interrater testing).

Stätten

A E1	77%
A E2	74%
B E2	79%
C E1	85%
C E2	70%
Average	77%

Table 8: Interrater reliability percentages Stätten

(BE1, not recorded, see footnote chapter 2, p 12)

Alpegg

A E1	67%
A E2	86%
B E1	74%
B E2	84%
C E1	93%
C E2	94%
Average	83%

Table 9: Interrater reliability percentages Alpegg

Chapter 5: Focus-on-Form Metapragmatics
you know the word start and now you see started .. what could it be?

5.1 Broad Introduction to Subcategories

Focus-on-form metapragmatics is by far the most salient category in all lesson extracts. Most of the metapragmatic talk in the data presented revolves around grammar topics and related language forms. The example given in chapter 4 for this category, however, only represents one aspect of metapragmatic negotiation on grammar issues in the foreign language lessons. In fact, I will present a variety of different forms of grammar negotiation. And yet, the different manifestations of focus-on-form metapragmatics share the following characteristics. They are either based on a grammar problem (e.g. the past simple as grammatical focus of a unit) or a specific grammar mistake (e.g. *I walk* instead of the grammatically correct past simple form *I walked*), which triggers a grammar-focused discussion. My aim will be to show that such discussions are often initiated by the teacher and directed to the class but may also be triggered by the initiative of individual pupils. In addition, such metapragmatic talk can be realised at different stages of explicitness so that the following three subcategories will be distinguished and analysed.

- Zero Type: grammar mistake without correction (neither type A nor B)
- Type A: grammar mistake: correction
- Type B: grammar mistake/problem: explicit metatalk on subject matter

As previously mentioned, it is primarily the teacher who initiates a form-focused metapragmatic frame based on the pupils' grammar mistakes. In the first case (see bullet point above), the teacher ignores any language mistake produced and continues the lesson without any attempt to correct it or make it the subject of further discussion. I would like to show that this lack of grammar correction and explicit grammar clarification can be found in almost all lessons and depends on different factors (e.g. teacher's language proficiency, pupils' own English language competence, the designated focus of attention in the lesson part, etc).

"Type A" within the overall focus-on-form metapragmatics can indeed be found in all lessons. It manifests itself in various teacher-directed efforts to correct pupils' grammar mistakes. The teacher may repeat a pupil's grammar mistake and therefore trigger the pupil's or other pupils' correction of the mistake. Alternatively, the teacher might ask pupils to find the mistake in an utterance (e.g. *can you find the mistake*) or state that there is a mistake (*now there is one mistake*) with the same intention, i.e. pupils' own recognition of the mistake and subsequent correction. In addition, the teacher may shorten the process of mistake correction and correct it him/herself instantly. I will show that there are different approaches the teacher may take in order to proceed from a pupil's mistake to the correct form without resorting to a "type-B" subcategory of classroom grammar metapragmatics that would involve explicit explanation of the grammatical issue.

Initial analysis of the recorded classroom sequences has shown that teachers address grammar mistakes and grammar topics explicitly as well. In other words, the topic is explicitly addressed in class, and the teacher goes beyond simply asking pupils what the mistake is or correcting it him/herself directly. There is an abundance of manifestations of this "type-B" metapragmatics in the data and examples vary from short references to grammar (e.g. *yes, and what is the past continuous of walk*) to lengthy sequences involving various participants.

And finally, I would like to argue that there are numerous stretches of discourse that consist of a combination of the above-mentioned subcategories. In 5.2–5.4, these types will be presented with various extracts, and salient features will be discussed.

5.2 No Correction Zero Type (neither type A nor B)

Apart from the teacher in one class, all teachers sometimes simply ignore pupils' language mistakes. In other words, it is only in the B-track class of Alpegg where all recorded language mistakes are recognised by the teacher. They are either corrected directly by the teacher telling pupils that there is a mistake or made explicit by the teacher directing the conversation to a deeper grammar metalevel with explanations around the relevant language problem/mistake.

I will therefore present this lack of grammar correction in the remaining two classes of Alpegg (track A as well as track C) and the three classes of Stätten (tracks A-C). For each extract, the context will be outlined briefly so that it can be located within the larger lesson frame. After the analysis of extracts (1)-(9), I will provide a summary for this "zero-type" subcategory.

Extract (1) is taken from the second lesson analysed in the A classroom of Alpegg. It must be noted that in the first lesson of this class, the "zero-type" subcategory cannot be found at all. There may be various reasons for this, which I will refer to when summarising the zero-type findings at the end of this chapter. In both A-track lessons, the overall topic is soap operas based on a course book topic. In the first lesson, the teacher focuses closely on one soap opera text (on *Neighbours*) and on a very step-by-step approach to the text, with syntactical work on labelling lesson elements as subjects, verbs or objects and on pronunciation work (often chorus pronunciation work). In the second lesson, the teacher takes up the soap extract from the first lesson and refers to the past tenses in the text. It is in this sequence where the teacher explicitly mentions that *was* is the past tense of *be* (type-B subcategory, focused on later on) and opens the floor by asking pupils *tell me about your past .. last Sunday I was* --. Extract (1) shows part of this lesson extract. It must be noted that (1) is a rare instance of a real-world framework established where the teacher asks pupils about events in their own experienced past.

(1)
Kira: ehm last weekend I was .. ehm .. in the swimming pool
Schwaller: okay .. what was she Mario? .. last weekend she --?
Mario: last weekend she was .. in swimming pool
Schwaller: right

Kira requests the floor without being picked by her teacher. She produces the grammatically correct sentence *last weekend I was in the swimming pool*. In order to improve interaction in the classroom, the teacher asks another pupil (i.e. Mario) to repeat where she was, although using the incorrect question word *what* (instead of *where*). Mario repeats the phrase but omits the definite article *the*. The subject predicative *in swimming pool* remains uncorrected by the teacher, who accepts Mario's contribution with an assuring *right*.

This is one example of Mr Schwaller not providing any grammar correction. The teacher seems to be more interested in the drill type of the exercise, i.e. the pupils' reproduction of the sentence block *last Sunday I was* --, rather than the grammatically correct completion of the sentence. Schwaller also accepts Kira's use of *last weekend* rather than the given *last Sunday*, suggesting that it is the correct reproduction of *was* that matters and requires full attention rather than the time reference or the subject predicative. In addition, by truncating Kira's original sentence into *last weekend she --,* the teacher applies a deictic shift to allow Mario to remain in the real-world frame of the propositional level of discourse (note that the teacher's or Mario's repetition of Kira's sentence without deictic shift would make the original sentence a fictional phrase from a point of view other than Kira's).

The zero-type subcategory can also be found in the C track of Alpegg. Extract (2) shown below is taken from the introductory sequence of the first lesson. The topic, *The Great Fire of London*, is based on a course book unit. The teacher focuses on the grammar of past simple affirmative and negative sentences. As an introduction, Mr Stocker requests to see pupils' homework that is based on two pictures, one about the past (i.e. 100 years ago) and one about the present. The task was to write down twelve sentences in the format of *today there are trees, but 100 years ago there weren't any trees*. After walking around and checking if pupils have actually done their homework assignment, Stocker shows the transparency on the overhead projector and asks pupils to read out a few sentences that they have written. The two pictures do not bear any real-world reference so that this zero-type interaction, which is not metapragmatic in my categorisation system, takes place on the propositional level of fictional content.

(2)
Stocker: another one .. Klemens (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Klemens: there were carriage .. kutschä
Stocker: there were carriage
Klemens: carriage a hundred years ago
Stocker: hundred years ago .. that's right

Mr Stocker asks Klemens to read out one of his sentences. He does so, but only refers to the picture of the past with the grammatically incorrect sentence *there were carriage .. kutschä*, followed by Stocker repeating the phrase. Klemens completes the sentence with the phrase *a hundred years ago*, which is again repeated by the teacher and finally assessed positively.

It is particularly surprising that the teacher ignores the incorrect plural of *were* with the singular noun *carriage*. The subject predicative *carriage,* which lacks an indefinite article *a,* does not seem to be prominent enough for the teacher to correct either. As in the example with the subject predicative in (1) (i.e. *in swimming pool*), the teacher accepts the grammatically incorrect phrase. He does not take any corrective stance in this example (and others within the same lesson sequence). In other words, Mr Stocker fails to insist on the grammatical correctness of the main grammar topic of the lesson. It must be stated, however, that this is not the case throughout the sequence of collecting pupils' phrases, and later on Stocker corrects *there wasn't trees* into *there weren't trees*, not adding the necessary pronoun *any* but nevertheless making sure that the plural past form of *to be* is used correctly.

It is noteworthy that at some later stage in the same lesson, Stocker reacts similarly, i.e. does not correct a pupil's mistake (in this case the mispronunciation of *great*) in a lesson sequence where pupils read out sentences from the course book on the historical event of *The Great Fire of London*. Pupils are instructed to explain why the statements are either true or false with reference to the text in the unit. Extract (3), shown below, must be seen within a non-fictional propositional content level and the absence of explicit metapragmatic discussion on a grammar mistake again refers to the zero-type subcategory described in (1) and (2) before.

(3)

Stocker: please read the sentence and .. true or false .. and give in and give the right answer

Odette: emm .. the gr- the **Griit** (PRONOUNCED /GRiːT/) [Fire] of London was in .. emm sixteen hundred [[sixty five]]

Px: **[great]**

Stocker: [[sixty five]]

Odette: emm .. false emm it was sixteen hundred sixty six

Stocker: sixteen sixty six .. yes that's right .. next one Klemens

After the teacher requests Odette to read the first sentence printed in the course book and to *give the right answer*, Odette herself reads out the sentence and mispronounces the adjective *great* (**bold for emphasis**). Stocker does not correct this pronunciation mistake, which is surprising considering the fact that an unidentified pupil himself/herself interjects and produces the correctly pronounced adjective *great* (**in bold as well**). The teacher merely repeats the year, partly first in an overlap with Odette and after Odette's correction of it in full length.

What has been identified in the extracts discussed so far is a complete absence of correction of grammatically incorrect pupils' contributions in the A and C class of Alpegg. Only for extract (1) and class A, such lack may be explained with the fact that the overall grammar focus of past simple forms is maintained and the forms produced correctly. In (2), the past simple form is incorrect as the main focus of the lesson part and still does not receive the teacher's attention, i.e. remains uncorrected. Extract (3) shows that in class C the teacher even fails to take up a corrective type-A or type-B approach to focus-on-form metatalk when in fact another pupil adopts the corrective type-A mode, directly correcting the mispronounced word *great* of a classmate. In addition, it can be stated that the propositional content, established either within a real-world or fictional context, does not seem to be a determining factor regarding a teacher's insistence or lack of direct type-A correction. Evidence of this is the fact that a lack of such type-A correction in the focused Alpegg classrooms has been found in both propositional components (extract (2) for fictional and (1) and (3) for real-world orientation).

This lack of grammar correction can be found in the A, B and C classroom of Stätten as well. Focusing on class A first, I would like to present extracts (4) and (5), which are taken from the introductory activity in the first lesson. The teacher organises the class into two groups that are split into two teams per group again. One team explains a word the teacher shows them on a card to the other team within the same group. The teams are instructed to collaborate well, i.e. to give explanations so successfully that the other team of their group is able to guess the word as fast as possible. The activity is done under time pressure as the teacher clocks the time for each group.

(4)

Grell: no you can give other explanation Nico

Nico: also … on the entrance it have a door (GIGGLES)

(5)

Nico: in Switzerland it gibs many of them

In extracts (4) and (5), Nico, a person in group B, tries to give an explanation for a given word his colleagues have to guess. In (4), it is the word *shop* and in (5), *nationality*. In both cases, it takes a few turns before pupils are able to guess the correct words. Both extracts show that Ms Grell does not take any corrective stance in this activity at all, thus placing the pupils' efforts to give vocabulary explanations to each other above grammatical accuracy.

It can therefore be maintained again that, according to the teacher's agenda with respect to a grammar focus, it may well be that he/she does not see any need to correct pupils' erroneous contributions, not even if – and this could be seen in extract (3) earlier – a pupil steps in and corrects his/her classmate. Such peer correction and yet lack of teacher's correction can also be observed in the following extract (6), taken from the same lesson sequence.

(6)

Jonida: the most […] (PRONOUNCED /MʌST/) the most of us have this … or this is for … sie ma chas nüd sägä

Px: [most] (WITH CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Grell: try just try .. and the others could help

And a final sequence for track A is taken from the second lesson, where the teacher collects information that was the topic of the first lesson, i.e. au pairs, with a grammatical focus on the modal verbs *can* and *must*.

(7)

Grell: what does it mean? .. what does an au pair do? .. you said cook work in the house what else someone knows something else? (SOME PUPILS WITH HANDS UP) .. ja (INDICATES TO INGRID)

Ingrid: he go he go to school (PRONOUNCED /ʃ uːL/)

Grell: right and .. there are other things you know about au pairs .. what are they doing as well?

(7) clearly indicates that even in a lesson sequence where the focus is on a topic and its related grammar that the class has explicitly talked about in the previous lesson (i.e. *an au pair can go to school 4-6 hours a week* with respect to Ingrid's statement above), the teacher may decide against correcting the incorrect grammar. It is in fact noteworthy that Grell does not only fail to include the modal *can* but even tolerates Ingrid's failure to apply the correct form for a third person singular sentence with the verb *go*. Finally, it remains to be noted that the teacher also fails to correct the mispronounced word *school*. Extracts (4)-(7), where no comment on some incorrect grammar form is provided by the teacher, are all based on fictional sentences on the propositional level that must be seen within an overall vocabulary framework. In other words, the focus is on guessing topical-based vocabulary rather than practising grammar.

As can be seen in extract (8) below, Ms Keller, the classroom teacher of the B track in Stätten, sometimes does not correct mistakes produced by pupils either. The sequence is taken from the second lesson, where the teacher introduces the grammatical topic of past simple forms with reference to Picasso, who provides the context in the relevant course book unit. Pupils have their books closed and the teacher asks them what *they know about Picasso*. In this case, the original sentence about Picasso, as in extract (3) earlier (reference to *The Great Fire of London*), is based on real-world propositional content, albeit not dealing with the immediately experienced real world of pupils.

(8)

Blerim: he was born (PRONOUNCED /B ɔːN/) in .. eighty eighty-one

Keller: I have to look up eighteen ninety [one yes]

Blerim: [ninety one]

Keller: okay more

Blerim, after requesting the floor by raising his hand, tells his teacher where Picasso was born. He mispronounces the word *born* as in English *burn*. Keller, however, solely interested in the actual message and the above-mentioned real-world content level of Blerim's utterance, voices doubt as to whether the pupil's contribution is correct (i.e. not in grammatical terms). Therefore, she corrects his statement by giving the correct year of birth. Blerim accepts the correction and partly repeats the correct year. This short stretch of discourse is another example of how grammar mistakes (i.e. mispronunciation of *born* as well as the number *eighteen*) may remain uncorrected in certain lesson sequences where the teacher places the main emphasis on collecting information rather than dealing with explicit grammar. One may also contend that where the actual real-world propositional content becomes the subject of discussion, it takes over the potential metafocus on form as soon as the truth value of a statement is being questioned.

(9) is the last extract with reference to a complete lack of teacher grammar correction and is taken from the C track of Stätten. The teacher asks his pupils at the beginning of the lesson which tenses they know, writes them on an overhead transparency and requests his class to produce fictional sentences using these tenses. He also asks his class under which tense section he should write them on the transparency.

(9)
Sieber: okay yeah Bujar
Bujar: I am going to play football
Sieber: yeah .. which one is it?
Dardana: future (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION, FINAL "E" PRONOUNCED TOO)
Bujar: futur (IN GERMAN)
Sieber: I don't ask you .. yeah (INCOMPREHENSIBLE, PROBABLY REFERS TO BUJAR) ... repeat again .. I --
Bujar: I am going to play football
Px: kameradenschwein
Sieber: you heard it? .. yes Dardana (WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Dardana: futur (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION)
Sieber: futur (ALSO GERMAN PRONUNCIATION) yeah

Extract (9) cannot be analysed without considering the organisation of the lesson and interaction in this classroom. As mentioned above, the pupils' main effort in this lesson is to produce sentences with grammatically correct tenses and to label them accordingly (i.e. *I am going to play football* → future). Corrections, if they occur at all, cannot be based on a shared context such as Picasso's date of birth as a real-world reference established through the course book, as in extract (8). The reason for this is that there is no shared context and pupils are encouraged to produce *any* sentence as long as the labelling of its tense is being carried out correctly. Bujar, with his sentence *I am going to play football,* fulfils the first requirement, Dardana the second one of labelling the sentence correctly. Dardana's mispronunciation of *future* (repeated by Bujar) thus becomes secondary within the setting of that grammar lesson. Mr Sieber instead focuses on the organisation of turns. Interestingly, he does not reprimand Dardana for claiming the floor without explicit permission but Bujar for repeating Dardana's correct labelling. Above all, Sieber directs his prime attention in this sequence, and in all sequences in that lesson, to the correct production of the tenses and their correct labelling. Pronunciation is neglected as a secondary grammatical issue, separate from the designated focus on tenses in the actual lesson. This observation is supported by the fact that Sieber himself closes this interactional stretch by repeating the tense in German.

In summarising this subcategory of focus-on-form metapragmatics, i.e. the lack of any grammar correction and consequently any metapragmatic negotiation of grammar, I wish to point out once more that in all but one class (i.e. class B in Alpegg) this absence of grammar correction has been found. In these examples, despite blatant grammar mistakes produced by pupils on various levels, teachers do not correct them at all. I would argue that there are various reasons for this and extracts (1)-(9) permit the following interpretations.

Firstly, the teacher places the main emphasis on a certain designated grammar focus (extract (1) past tense of *be*, (3) and (8) past simple forms and (9) labelling of various tenses) that seems to be outside the scope of the mistake produced by the pupils and therefore does not require attention and explicit correction in the classroom.

It may also be that the teacher establishes an overall vocabulary frame, where pupils' efforts to explain words rather than produce correct grammar are the centre of attention. Within such a frame, as extracts (4)-(6) suggest, any grammar mistakes occurring are neither corrected nor explicitly elaborated on a focus-on-form metafloor.

Admittedly, however, there are also sequences explicitly about the grammar item that is produced incorrectly by the pupil (in (2) past forms of *be* and in (7) sentences with modals *can* and *must*). Nevertheless, the teacher in such instances may decide against correcting an utterance or directing the conversation to explicit metatalk about the grammar subject. One might argue that the teacher decides to hold back corrective feedback in order to save time and instead place a collective feedback on the grammar mistake and possibly other grammar mistakes at some later stage.

I have also shown that the lack of such grammar correction may be found in both extracts based on fictional propositional content or real-world sequences. Especially extract (8) suggests that when some real-world propositional content becomes the subject of discussion (i.e. *when was Picasso born*), the ensuing conversation may remain within this first level of content rather than develop into some metadiscussion on incorrect forms. The reason for this is that particularly propositional real-world content based on course book information can be checked on as the teacher in extract (8) shows quite clearly.

Overall, however, it must be stated that there is no distinctive pattern that evolved when contrasting the academic tracks A, B and C with regard to a non-corrective stance in situations where grammar mistakes occurred.

5.3 Type A: Grammar Mistake Correction

Regarding type A in focus-on-form metapragmatics, i.e. grammar correction without metapragmatic communication on the grammar issue, I will first present examples from Alpegg and then analyse corresponding extracts from Stätten (extracts (10)-(18)).

Extract (10) is taken from the second lesson of track A in Alpegg, where the teacher, within the thematic topic of soap operas, refers to an exercise done in the previous lesson. Pupils have to remember the subjects, verbs and objects of a short text about an Australian soap called *Neighbours*. The sentence *Jason was later Kylie's boyfriend in real life* is the trigger for the teacher to explicitly refer to the past form of the verb *to be* (an instance of type-B explicit metapragmatic negotiation and focus on form that I will concentrate on in 5.4). Schwaller opens a real-world frame with the sentence *I was is one of the .. past forms of the*

verb to be .. Kira .. can you tell me about your past? .. I was .. yesterday or the day before yesterday or last Sunday .. I was --. He thus establishes a context of pupils' experienced real world, where they refer to their own past experiences and are given the opportunity to produce any sentence about their experienced past, as long as it follows the grammatical structure *I was*…. In Paula's case, the short interaction develops as follows.

(10)
Paula: yesterday I was sleep
Schwaller: **you were --?** (MOVES CLOSER)
Paula: sleep
Schwaller: **I was sleeping**
Paula: äh *sleeping*
Schwaller: yes

With her sentence *yesterday I was sleep,* Paula produces a sentence that is grammatically incorrect. She applies the infinitive *sleep* instead of the adjective *asleep* together with the past form of the verb *to be*. Schwaller's approach to this grammar mistake is noteworthy for three reasons. Firstly, he expresses dissatisfaction by using a truncated phrase *you were* -- (**in bold**) that can be interpreted in two ways. He either voices his inability to understand the pupil correctly, or else has already identified the grammatical inaccuracy and thus gives the pupil another opportunity to correct her mistake. Paula repeats the word *sleep*. Secondly, Schwaller continues by not allowing Paula to identify the mistake herself (i.e. by not explicitly inserting a type-B, focus-on-form metacomment such as *you have used the infinitive rather than the adjective to complete the verb to be*) but instead corrects the mistake himself with the phrase *I was sleeping* (**in bold**). And thirdly, the teacher does not stay within the grammatical focus of *to be* as main verb +subject predicative but instead corrects Paula's phrase *I was sleep* into a different grammatical structure of past continuous where the verb *to be* is used as an auxiliary verb. Thus, what can be observed in this example are two ways of dealing with grammatically incorrect pupils' answers. The teacher (unless I interpret it as an acoustic problem of misunderstanding) first requests another attempt from the pupil by voicing dissatisfaction with the sentence produced and then resorts to a somehow more drastic action by correcting the erroneous sentence himself. However, he does so by constantly remaining on the propositional level and without opening an explicit type-B metapragmatic frame to discuss the grammar issue.

In the B-track classroom of Alpegg, a number of such grammar correction clusters have been identified. Extract (11) is taken from lesson one, where the teacher refers to a dialogue sequence from the course book. Its title is *what was he doing*, with the grammatical subject of past continuous. After making her pupils read a fictional dialogue sequence in the book, Ms Moser asks the class to retell what the short text is about (i.e. a group of teenagers on the river Thames and a minor accident of a boy who fell overboard while the others *were taking photos* and *were listening to the tour guide*). After a few pupils' contributions, the teacher directs the class to some comprehension questions and tells them that they have answered these questions at some stage before. Nevertheless, in the sequence which (11) is taken from, the teacher assigns speaking rights to individual pupils who read out the comprehension questions and ask each other in the class to give the corresponding answer. Extract (11) is longer and more complex than extract (10) above. It shows a combination of grammar correction techniques initiated by the teacher.

(11)

Moser: okay and Ulla .. can you give us .. ähm ask another question?

Ulla: what was Greg doing?

Moser (TO ULLA): and who should answer this question?

Ulla: Selina

Moser: Selina .. ähm good .. what was Greg doing (TO SELINA, WHO HESITATES)?

Moser (TO ALEX, WHO RAISES HAND): yes Alex

Alex: Greg du= (MISPRONOUNCES "THREW") Ben a life belt and pu=lled (ED SPELT OUT) him out of the wa - water

Moser: **Greg was --? .. what was he doing? .. he was --?**

Alex: mmmh?

Moser: mmmh (IMITATES ALEX)? .. what was he doing? .. Greg? .. which one is Greg? .. tell me .. describe him .. which one is Greg?

Alex: (IN GERMAN OR SWISS GERMAN, INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Moser: ohhh that's not Greg

Alex: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Moser: who knows which one is Greg? .. what is he wearing at the moment? .. Sibylle (WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Sibylle: Greg is wearing a blue shirt

Moser: Greg is wearing a blue t-shirt .. so what is he doing or what *was* he doing? .. yes Salome (WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Salome: Greg is looking to the London Eye
Moser: **is he looking or what is he doing with his arm? .. yes (UNIDENTIFIED PUPIL, AS NOT IN VIDEO FRAME)**
Px: he's tell about --
Moser: **he's talking about the London Eye .. he's talking about the London Eye** because what -- who is Greg? .. what is his job? .. what is his job? .. was he one of the winners of the competition? .. Roger (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Roger: no
Moser: no and what's his job then?
Roger: he ähm he is the the the .. ähm reiseleiter
Moser: yes .. how is that in English? .. does anybody remember? .. he's the .. tour -?
Alex: guide
Moser: oh he's the tour guide .. exactly

Extract (11) starts with Ms Moser granting Ulla the floor to read out the next question from the comprehension box in the course book. After doing so correctly, Ulla chooses Selina to give an answer. Selina hesitates, which makes Ms Moser decide to give Alex the opportunity for an appropriate response. Alex does so by producing the sentence *Greg threw Ben a lifebelt and pulled him out of the water*, but mispronouncing the verbs *threw* and *pulled*. It is noteworthy that Alex has read out his sentence from the dialogue sequence where the teenagers tell each other *who was doing xyz, when Ben fell overboard*. He thus recognises the right person but gives the action that follows Ben's fall into the river Thames rather than responding to the question of what Greg was doing WHILE Ben fell overboard. Moser expresses dissatisfaction with Alex' answer, mainly on the content basis by truncating the correct answer *Greg was* -- (i.e. talking about the London Eye). She thus suggests a past continuous focus and repeats the question to give Alex another opportunity to answer the question correctly (**in bold**). Alex himself hesitates, which causes Moser to repeat the comprehension question again to request Alex to *describe* and tell her *which one is Greg*. The ensuing comment by Alex can unfortunately not be understood owing to technical constraints, but his comment is in Swiss German or German. The teacher notes that Alex still shows insecurity as to who Greg is and therefore inserts a clarification sequence, where she wants to know what he is wearing (*what is he wearing at the moment?*). Sibylle, requesting the floor

correctly, tells the teacher that *Greg is wearing a blue shirt*, a sentence the teacher repeats by slightly adapting her phrase into *Greg is wearing a blue t-shirt*. Interestingly, this inserted sequence of clarification lacks the grammatical focus of past continuous vs. simple past but is set up by the teacher within the present continuous mode. This becomes evident when Moser repeats the initial question *what is Greg doing or what was Greg doing*, indicating that ensuing answers should be given by using the past continuous tense. Salome, however, replies by using a present continuous tense and incorrectly applies the preposition *to* instead of *at*. This is another moment where the teacher recognises that a correction of a pupil's contribution must be made. Interestingly, Moser neither corrects the preposition nor the wrong tense used, but instead wants to elicit Greg's action of pointing towards the London Eye (**see bold above**). An unidentified pupil produces the grammatically incorrect and incomplete phrase *he's tell about* --, which the teacher accepts as an alternative description of Greg's action by correcting the phrase directly and accepting the present continuous tense that at least follows the progressive mode (**see bold in transcript, too**). The teacher closes this stretch of discourse with a vocabulary clarification sequence that I will take a look at in more detail when dealing with metadiscourse on meaning in the classroom. Suffice it to say at this stage that vocabulary clarification is one possible way of clarifying a discourse that largely revolves around a grammar issue in the first place.

In the admittedly rather long and complex sequence (11), it must be noted again that the teacher applies type-A, grammar-correction devices in different ways. In the first **bold reference** given in the extract, Moser identifies the incorrect answer given by the pupil on the propositional content and grammatical level. What seems to be worth noting is that the teacher does not correct the mispronounced but grammatically correct sentence *Greg threw Ben a lifebelt and pulled him out of the water,* but insists on the grammatically correct answer to the corresponding question *what was Greg doing*. She does so by applying a type-A, grammar-correction device that I have referred to in the previous extract as well, i.e. returning the floor to the pupil and truncating the correct answer (*Greg was* --). In this case, such truncation is achieved with the combination of the corresponding question *what was Greg doing*. She thus decides against explicit metapragmatic reference such as e.g. *look the question is in the past continues, you have given me a past simple answer*.

Later in the same sequence (**highlighted in bold, too**), she returns the floor again by repeating the correct part of the pupil's answer *he is looking to the London Eye*, i.e. *he is looking*, and provides additional support (*what is he doing with his arm*) to trigger a correct answer. The fact that she does not remain within the overall grammatical focus of past continuous is surprising but is an observation that I have made in the previous extract as well, where the teacher suggests *I was sleeping* rather than *I was asleep*. Finally, after a pupil's incorrect attempt to produce a correct sentence in the present continuous tense, Ms Moser resorts to directly correcting the incorrect sentence and therefore decides against explicit metapragmatic reference to the grammatical form and against giving the pupil another attempt to produce a correct sentence (**in bold**).

Extract (12) is taken from the same sequence on the fictional dialogue in the first lesson of the B-track classroom in Alpegg. It shows once more that the combination of giving a pupil a second opportunity and the subsequent correction of the mistake is a frequent cluster the teacher applies when dealing with incorrectly produced pupils' answers.

(12)
Moser: what was Laura doing? (TO MARIANNE, WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Marianne: Laura had taking photos of Tomek and Gaby
Moser: **can you repeat that?**
Marianne: Laura is taking photos of Tomek and Gaby
Moser: **Laura was taking photos of .. ähm Tomek and Gaby**

The difference of (12) compared to previous examples in (10) and (11) is that the teacher does not return the floor to the pupil by truncating the correct answer, but instead by explicitly requesting the pupil to try to produce the sentence again (**in bold**). What follows is a correct sentence by Marianne in the present continuous tense that does not correspond to the question in the past continuous. Ms Moser, as in extract (11) and similar to Mr Schwaller in (10), corrects the sentence herself and thus avoids spending more time explaining the grammar mistake in explicit metapragmatic terms (e.g. by pointing out that the sentence is almost correct and that only one word needs changing to transform it into the past continuous tense).

(12) shows that allowing the pupil an attempt to produce a correct sentence does not necessarily have to be done by presenting the correct version in truncated form. Instead, it can be achieved by a direct request for a repetition. The sequence also suggests that teachers interpret the focus on a particular grammar element on a moment-by-moment basis. This is supported by the fact that Moser in (12) corrects the phrase *Laura is taking photos of Tomek and Gaby* into the past continuous (which is the overall grammatical focus) whereas she not only accepts the present continuous tense in extract (11) but in fact even actively uses it herself.

In the C-track classroom in Alpegg, type-A, grammar-correction sequences are very rare. One could expect the teacher to take up pupils' mistakes in explicit metatalk instead (i.e. type-B, focus-on-form metatalk). However, this is not the case, which will be shown in more detail in 5.4. It is in this class where the no-correction type (see extracts (2) and (3) above) is by far the most prominent one from all the data analysed. Mr Stocker very often leaves grammar mistakes uncorrected and sometimes even repeats pupils' incorrect contributions (also seen in (2)). The short stretch of discourse in (13) must therefore be seen as an exception to Stocker's approach of tolerating grammar mistakes almost unrestrictedly. It is taken from the second lesson, where pupils, having been given a worksheet with eight short paragraphs and jumbled up pictures of the faces of famous people (e.g. Charlie Chaplin, Marilyn Monroe, etc.), work through picture by picture, reading out sentences that belong to the picture at hand. Sentences on the propositional level are based on real facts and can thus be seen as non-fictional. In the example below, Klemens reads out a sentence that matches the picture of Charlie Chaplin.

(13)
Klemens: ehm he's ehm ehm died in Switzerland
Stocker: **he died in Switzerland yes that's right**

Klemens chooses a sentence from the Charlie Chaplin paragraph, i.e. the sentence *he died in Switzerland in 1977*, but drops the year and instead uses a present perfect construction. In this context, however, the present perfect (as in e.g. *he's only just died*…) does not make sense. Mr Stocker corrects Klemens' sentence into the past simple tense but does not add the year, which would have emphasised the use of past simple. Instead, he merely corrects *he's died* into *he died* and adds a positive evaluation with the phrase *that's right*. It must also be mentioned that Mr Stocker, of all the teachers studied, has the weakest command of English.

This might hint at an important aspect when studying metapragmatics on the form aspect of grammar in the classroom. I would argue that a certain correlation (not quantitatively analysed in this study and referred to later in more detail) between the level of teachers' language abilities and the application of corrective devices (type A) or even explicit focus-on-form metatalk (type B) can be established when dealing with grammar mistakes in the language classroom.

Having studied some type-A grammar correction in Alpegg, I will continue to analyse this subcategory in Stätten. Extract (14) is taken from the second lesson in track A. The teacher, after a pronunciation group exercise as an introductory activity, refers back to the previous lesson, where pupils worked on the fictional course book subject of au pairs, with a grammatical focus on modal verbs.

(14)
Grell: okay .. so we go back to the au pair we have worked about yesterday .. and I'd like to have .. a few information about au pairs (WRITES STH ON THE BLACKBOARD) .. something like definition so give me a few sentences what do you know about au pairs? .. we had yesterday .. what do you still know about them (TO NICO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)? .. Nico

Nico: also the au pair was going work ehm in another country (PRONOUNCED /KaʊNTRI/)
[..] for example in ehm French .. or in Spain or .. Wälschland
Grell: [mm]
Grell: French part of Switzerland
Nico: genau
Grell: **right okay goes to other countries**

In order to provide the context to the previous lesson that Ms Grell refers to, it must be noted that pupils read an advertisement in the course book, describing the need for au pairs working and living in the French part of Switzerland. In the advertisement, the conditions for an application, such as *must be able to speak some French*, *minimum age 18 years*, etc., are highlighted. Additionally, in the previous lesson, pupils also listened to a telephone conversation between two female teenagers, one interested in applying, the second one having done an au-pair exchange and answering the inexperienced girl's questions. Subsequently, pupils were doing an exercise where they had to put the questions asked in the right order

with the words given, albeit in jumbled up sequence. Nico, in his sentence following Grell's introductory turn, does not, however, reproduce a sentence from the dialogue between the girls but in fact summarises what an au pair does in his own words. Nico's sentence is grammatically incorrect with regard to the tense applied (i.e. *was going work*), as well as pronunciation (*country*). He also shows lexical problems and lacks the words France and the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Ms Grell acknowledges Nico's attempt for what she requested as *something like a definition* about au pairs, with an approving *mm*. She supports Nico in his attempt to refer to *Wälschland* by providing the corresponding English translation, which Nico appreciates with his positive remark *genau*. Only then does the teacher refer back to Nico's incorrect sentence, corrects *was going to* to a more general *goes to*, as well as providing a correct pronunciation of the word *country*. Considering the fact that a) the grammatical subject attached to the topic of au pairs is modals (*can* and *must* in particular), and b) that au pairs do not necessarily spend their exchange abroad but in fact in this very example in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, it is surprising that Ms Grell opts for *goes to other countries* rather than *can go to other countries*. Finally, it is worth noting that Grell, in her first and initiating turn, shows limitations in her own use of English (i.e. *a few information*, *something like definition*, *we had yesterday*) and, similar to Stocker in the C track of Alpegg, applies grammar-correction devices more rarely than the other teachers observed. This may suggest once more a tendency towards no correction for teachers with certain language limitations.

For track B in Stätten, extracts (15) and (16) show two ways of directly correcting a pupil's mistake that has not been observed in the analysis so far. Both extracts are taken from the second lesson, where the teacher develops the overall grammar focus of past simple. (15) belongs to the introductory part of the lesson, where the teacher asks pupils what they remember from a text about Picasso, read in the previous lesson. She thus elicits past simple forms based on a non-fictional course book input. Extract (16) is taken from the follow-up of the initiation described, where pupils complete sentences that start with who (as *who* _____ *in France* and the answer given *Picasso did*).

(15)

Fatlum: Picasso lives in in Malaga he burn in .. (WHISTLES) he's burn in .. *Vigo* .. and --

Keller: **where was he born?**

Fatlum (DOES NOT RAISE HIS HAND, OTHER PUPILS DO): in Malaga

Keller: yeah and what about *Vi=go* or --?

Fatlum: aha [he=] he tri - nei .. he travelled with a ship in -- .. weiss nüd (LAUGHS AND LOOKS AROUND THE CLASS)

Keller: [or] --?

Keller: **schschsch .. to Vigo yes .. yes .. okay he was *born* in Malaga sometimes he *mo=ved* he travelled to Vigo .. more**

(16)

Keller: okay .. next one .. more than one possibility .. Marco (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Marco: who died in France (PRONOUNCED /DaɪED/)

Keller: **yes for example who lived in France or who died in France or who painted in France .. Picasso did**

With regard to extract (15) first, Fatlum responds to the teacher's question of what they still remember about Picasso. He uses an incorrect sentence regarding the past simple tense of the passive construction *to be born*. Interestingly, Keller neither truncates the correct answer, as seen in examples before (i.e. *he was* --), nor indicates a mistake by explicitly requesting the pupil to repeat the sentence (see e.g. (12)). Instead, she corrects the erroneous *he burn in* or *he's burn in* by asking the corresponding question and doing two things at once; she's expressing dissatisfaction at the answer given on the propositional content basis (i.e. Vigo rather than Malaga), but also wants the pupil to realise that his structure *he burn in* or *he's burn in* is incorrect and requires improvement. However, Fatlum interprets his teacher's question on the content level only and provides *Malaga* as an alternative to *Vigo*. Keller does not insist that Fatlum repeat the whole sentence (i.e. *he was born in Malaga*) but remains on the content level by asking what *Vigo* has to do with Picasso. Fatlum produces a correct first part of a sentence but applies the preposition *in* rather than *to* (*he travelled with a ship in* --). This makes him hesitate and give up on his attempt. Keller corrects Fatlum's incorrect use of preposition. She stresses the past simple forms again by repeating *was born*, *travelled* and even adding *moved*. This extract shows a teacher who tries to correct a pupil's incorrect

sentence by asking the question again and thus, similar to the teacher in extract (11)), expresses dissatisfaction with the answer on both content and grammatical level.

In extract (16), the teacher addresses Marco's mispronounced *died* by directly correcting the wrong pronunciation. She adds emphasis and embeds the correct pronunciation of *died* within other past forms to make her point (i.e. *lived*, *painted*). Keller's effort in (16) therefore resembles her corrective input at the end of extract (15), where she also repeats the erroneous form (i.e. *was born*) and adds additional forms within the same grammatical focus (*moved*, *travelled*) of past simple.

Finally, with regard to grammar-mistake correction type A, I will focus on the C-track classroom in Stätten, whose first lesson decisively differs from all the remaining lessons in Stätten and Alpegg. It is only in this lesson that the teacher solely focuses on grammar in a very decontextualised way. He does not use any course book material that would set the scene, such as a fictional trip on the river Thames (class B, Alpegg with grammar focus on past simple vs. past continuous), or the true story of Picasso's life (class B, Stätten with grammar focus on past simple). Instead, Mr Sieber repeats the tenses by asking pupils to name as many as they can remember and to provide any sentence with any tense, as long as pupils label the applied tenses correctly. Despite this close focus on tenses without a given context, it will be shown that grammar correction discussed here and explicit metapragmatics on form as type B (see 5.4), are relatively rare in the C-track classroom in Stätten. They largely give way to a very surface level of grammar labelling. Extract (17) shows this and is taken from the very beginning of the first lesson. Mr Sieber collects the tenses that pupils remember and only very rarely exceeds the purely collective mode of pupils naming the different tenses. Nevertheless, (17) shows a number of instances where this surface labelling and type-A grammar correction coincide (**see bold for emphasis**). The long extract given below consists of a first part, where the teacher collects the different tenses, and a second part, where the discussions revolve around the form of the present continuous tense *I'm drinking milk*. For part 2, the teacher shows an overhead transparency that lists the different tenses from past perfect to future forms, for each tense giving the simple and progressive mode. His request for the class to tell him where to chart the sentence (i.e. *mir sagen wo ich's eintragen muss*, see at the beginning of part 2) thus refers to this visual aid being applied.

(17)

Part 1

Sieber: I would like to re-*peat* ... okay .. now .. welche zeiten kennen wir? [..] try in English .. yes

Px1: [present .. present (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)]

Massimo: persen (PRESUMABLY "PRESENT" IS MEANT)

Sieber: **present**

Massimo: simple

Px2: simple

Px3: futur (IN GERMAN)

Sieber: present what? .. yes (TO LIRIDONA, WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Liridona: future (PRONUNCIATION /FIUTURE/)

Sieber: **future**

Px4: future (REPEATS INCORRECT ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION)

Valmir: future (PRONUNCIATION /FUTURE/)

Sieber: **future and --**?

Px5: simple

Sieber: simple .. what simple? .. yes (TO DARIO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Dario: present simple

Sieber: present simple .. what else? … ja (TO DARDANA, WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Dardana: past simple

Sieber: past simple … okay .. what else? .. yes (TO ENDRIT, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Endrit: present continuous

Sieber: perfect .. and what else? .. yes (TO MERAL, WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Meral: past continuous

Sieber: ja

Px6: past continuous (SIEBER WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD)

Sieber: gut .. ä=hm .. past continuous haben wir noch nicht gehabt bis jetzt .. wir können's aber trotzdem .. wieso?

Valmir: wills schwär isch

Part 2

Sieber: weil's auch einfach einfach ist .. okay .. now let' see .. ähme= .. drink .. I .. bei= ähme .. ich trinke .. was sag ich? .. milch

Px7: I drink milk

Sieber: wer kann mal --? .. wer will mal versuchen who wants to try? .. irgendeine zeitform [..] [[satz übersetzen]] .. ich trinke milch .. ich werde milch trinken .. ich habe mi- oder ich trank milch .. egal .. mir sagen wo ich's eintragen muss .. yes (VALMIR, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Endrit: [I drink --]

Px8: [[I drink leit]] (BASED ON ITALIAN LATTE??)

Valmir: I'm drink milch (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION OF MILK)

Sieber: **I'm .. nicht I'm .. [no] .. not I'm drink milk [[..]] I'm [[[..]]] I'm .. drink --**

Px9: [milch]

Px10: [[leit]]

Px11: [[[leit]]] (REPEATED BY 2ND PUPIL)

Px12: drinking

Px13: milk

Sieber: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Px14: was?

Sieber: **not .. not .. I'm drink milk .. sondern [..] I'm --?**

Ps: [I'm drinking]

Px15: drinking

Endrit: I'm drinking

Sieber: which one? .. future (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION) .. present simple .. present continuous past (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Massimo: present simple

Endrit: future (IN GERMAN)

Sieber: **no**

Endrit: future

Sieber: **no**

Massimo: present continuous (WHO RAISES HIS HAND BUT ALSO SHOUTS IN)

Sieber: yes (WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD) … now .. what else? .. who would like to try?

The first and certainly most salient difference, compared to the previously discussed extracts, is the number of pupils interacting. Pupils hardly claim the floor by raising their hands and yet speak up and contribute in class. This observation also accounts for the fact that many pupils' contributions cannot be assigned to individual pupils, purely owing to technical constraints (Px1-Px15 refer to such cases). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy, both in part 1 and part 2, that many pupils contribute in very short succession. In part 1, this is still largely directed by the teacher in terms of granting speaking rights, compared to part 2, where such teacher-directed speaking organisation collapses altogether.

Regarding the subcategory of type-A grammar correction, part 1 shows that Mr Sieber in three cases (**in bold**) corrects the mispronounced tenses directly. This is not surprising, considering the fact that in the previous examples of type-A grammar correction, the teacher often applied truncation (e.g. extract (11)) to elicit a correct pupil's contribution as a second attempt. As pupils' turns in this first part of extract (17) merely consist of one or two-word utterances of the tense labels, the teacher cannot resort to sentence truncation in order to grant pupils a second speaking opportunity. The only instance where Mr Sieber abandons this surface level of tense collection and the correction of incorrect labels, can be found at the end of this sequence. He explicitly establishes a metafloor of type-B, focus-on-form metatalk, requesting the class to tell him why they know the past continuous tense as well.

Taking a look at part 2 of extract (17), Mr Sieber in two instances expresses disagreement with a pupil's tense produced. He disagrees with the answer and truncates the correct response (**see bold**). This is a form of grammar correction that has been observed in previous extracts before. And yet, the organisation of the speaking floor is so different that the teacher, with his disagreement and truncated second part of the phrase, does not hold the control of speaking rights. He in fact disagrees with one amongst many contributions that are difficult to assign and even challenging to understand. In the first case, Sieber only responds to Valmir's *I'm drink milch,* not reacting to Px7's, Endrit's and Px8's contributions (Px7 and Px8 being exemplary for the difficulty to determine individual contributions). Up to the teacher's second instance of explicit disagreement as a truncated correct sentence once more (**see bold**), pupils inputs become even shorter, only consisting of one-word utterances. From a pupil's point of view, it becomes obvious that, within their virtually absolute freedom of contribution to the classroom discussion, not just incorrect answers may slip the corrective rigour of the teacher (as seen in the run-up to the first type-A correction). A correct answer might just as well go

unnoticed and hence uncommented by the teacher. (see Px7 or Px12). In the remaining sequence of extract (17), Sieber in two cases disagrees explicitly but expresses the shortest possible disagreement (i.e. *no*), without adding any request for repetition whatsoever. The teacher, in his effort to disagree with pupils within the type-A, grammar-correction category, often remains extremely short, adding to the overall notion of fast turn-taking without a clearly organised distribution of speaking rights.

The last extract regarding type-A grammar correction is taken from the second lesson in Sieber's C-track classroom. The teacher and his pupils correct an exercise from the workbook on the past forms *did*, *was* and *were*. The overall lesson is not as decontextualised as the first one. Nevertheless, Mr Sieber clearly focuses on grammar without referring to the established context, in this sequence a fictional dialogue between two friends, with one person asking the other about her holiday experiences in Spain.

(18)
Sieber: perfect .. number seven .. Dario (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Dario: where the people (PRONOUNCES PUPILS) friendly .. I loved (PRONOUNCES /ED/) the pupils' houses their balcony plants .. the river .. the music and -- (VERY POOR PRONUNCIATION, Ps LAUGH AT HIM)
Sieber: **repeat again**
Dario: where the pupil friendly?
Px1: pupil (Ps LAUGH AND IMITATE DARIO)
Sieber: **achtung people nicht pupil .. achtung pupil heisst schüler** (Ps WITH SOME COMMENTS AGAIN)
Sieber: schschsch .. <u>fourteen --</u>
Dario: people .. people .. people .. friendly
Endrit: sie? (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Sieber: okay next one number eight .. yes
Endrit: sie aber ich ha nuch äs anders bim sibni
Sieber: was hast du?
Endrit: why did you like Sevilla (PRONOUNCES SEVIL) so much
Valmira: ja das han ich au
Liridona: [ich au]
Massimo: [ich au]
Px2: hani au

In (18), Mr Sieber asks pupils to repeat their incorrect contribution as a form of type-A grammar correction (**in bold**). In his grammar-correction efforts, he shows both of the observed type-A corrective devices, i.e. the truncation of the correct answer as well as the request for a second attempt. Sieber in (18) also shows an instance of direct correction that is more elaborate than his corrections in the first parts of extract (17). The teacher switches to Standard German, corrects the mispronounced word into *people* directly and even adds emphasis by introducing his correction with the word *achtung* (i.e. 'beware'). In addition, he also combines this type-A grammar correction with another metapragmatic category that I will focus on in chapter 6, i.e. the focus on meaning (**in bold**). Finally, it is again surprising in this sequence how many pupils contribute in one way or another to the ongoing discourse. When Sieber wants to continue with the next sentence and Endrit objects by suggesting another solution, it is Valmira, Liridona, Massimo and an unidentified pupil who, in very close succession, request the floor without being given it explicitly by the teacher.

With regard to type-A, grammar-correction devices analysed in extracts (10)-(18), it must be stated that it is indeed challenging to identify recurring patterns across classes and sites. The following findings still emerge. The only classroom where type-A grammar correction is hardly found at all is the lowest academic track C in rural Alpegg. The teacher in this classroom corrects very little and sometimes even repeats pupils' incorrect answers. He also shows the weakest language skills as an English teacher, which in this case seems to determine his intervention (or rather lack thereof) with regard to grammar mistakes. His counterpart in the C classroom in Stätten, however, shows various corrective modes, ranging from direct correction to truncating the expected answer and requesting the pupils to repeat their sentences. Most of these requests or disagreements with pupils' answers are expressed in Standard German, which in this high frequency cannot be found in the other classrooms. The teacher obviously interprets his pupils' level of English as inadequate for type-A grammar correction exclusively in the target language. Instead of not giving any corrections at all (as in the C classroom in Alpegg), the teacher code switches and provides corrective input in Standard German.

What is particularly noteworthy about a look at the extracts shown for the strongest academic track A in Alpegg and Stätten (i.e. (10) and (14)), is how neither teacher places a strong emphasis on the actual grammatical structure at hand. Whereas the teacher in Alpegg switches from a to be + subject predicative structure to a past continuous focus by directly correcting

the pupil, the teacher in Stätten adopts a collecting mode. She corrects pupils' answers but without directing them to the grammatical topic behind that sequence, i.e. the use of modal verbs. Both teachers, by and large, insist on the target language English (in contrast to the teacher in the C-track classroom in Alpegg), but display a somewhat more relaxed attitude towards the designated grammatical structure within their lessons when correcting pupils' mistakes.

In the middle track, i.e. track B, the teacher in Alpegg in particular (extract (11)) shows that correcting pupils directly may relate to two different levels: the propositional content of the lesson, and pupils' grammar applied. In addition, Ms Moser in extract (11) also switches from the actual grammatical focus of past continuous to present continuous, again showing that teachers may indeed apply type-A, grammar-correction devices while changing the grammatical focus on a moment-by-moment basis.

All in all, it can be stated that the majority of extracts found for direct grammar correction are triggered by pupils' grammar mistakes that are within the grammatical focus of the lessons. This is somehow to be expected, considering my observations for the Zero-type, no-correction subcategory earlier, where a lack of correction in most of the extracts could be attributed to lesson sequences in which pupils' mistakes occurred outside the designated grammatical focus of the lessons. What seems to be relevant is the observation that grammar mistakes that have been recognised do not necessarily trigger explicit metacommunication on the grammatical form. The teacher may indeed remain on the propositional first level of discourse with a number of correcting tools, such as truncation, request for repetition, or direct disagreement, to elicit the anticipated correct grammatical structure from pupils. In addition, it could be shown that an alternative to explicit metapragmatic reference to grammar is the teacher's response to the pupil's mistake in the form of a comprehension question that remains on the propositional level of discourse. In other words, teachers may opt against explicit metapragmatic grammatical focus and instead elicit the correct form by wrapping grammar correction up in a content comprehension frame, particularly observed in (10), (11) and (15), where the teachers' grammar intention behind the surface comprehension question could be identified.

5.4 Type B: Explicit Focus-on-Form Metapragmatics

5.4.1 Introduction to Analysis

In this subchapter, after comparing the absence as well as direct application of grammar correction at both classes and sites, I will analyse type B, as explicit focus-on-form metapragmatics. Broad initial data analysis has shown that comparison and contrast can be developed best when this major metapragmatic category is grouped into either observed strategies or subject areas. An example of the former would be the teacher's explicit focus on the language form of past simple rather than the use of the tense in context. The latter may refer to a teacher who establishes a metapragmatic frame based on a pupil's pronunciation mistake. In both cases, the teachers address formal grammatical aspects explicitly, thus on a metalevel rather than the propositional first level of discourse. And yet the picture of explicit metapragmatics is so diverse in my set of data that there will be instances for which a common denominator across classes and/or sites cannot be established. For focus-on-form metapragmatics, I will altogether present twenty-nine extracts (i.e. (19)-(47)), dealing with pronunciation, unclear metafloors, references to visual aids, tenses, metapragmatics in a non-target language variety, pupil-initiated focus-on-form metapragmatics and a few individual findings. As can be seen, focus-on-form metapragmatics is indeed a very diverse and complex category and has been grouped for this analysis according to different criteria.

5.4.2 Focus on Form / Pronunciation

I would like to place the first analytical focus on teachers who explicitly address pupils' pronunciation mistakes. My aim will be to show that they do so in various different ways (i.e. extracts (19)-(27)).

Extract (19) from track A in Stätten gives an example of pronunciation metapragmatics. It is taken from the first lesson and revolves around the overall fictional topic of au pairs. After introducing the topic, using an advertisement and playing a dialogue of two teenage girls, the teacher asks her pupils to reorganise five sentences into the correct order. They do so by rearranging given sentence blocks. Ingrid and Mirko's contributions refer to the following sentence blocks; *school? can go to au pair an week many hours a How*. The pre-given sentence structure looks as follows*;* _____*au pair* _____*school*?. Thus, within the grammatical focus of the unit on modals, the main task for pupils is to

achieve a correct sentence structure. Pronunciation is not the focus of attention in this sequence but, nevertheless, Ms Grell makes it an explicit metapragmatic issue.

(19)

Ingrid: how many hours (/HaʊRS/) a week can a au pair go to school? (/ʃU:L/)
Grell: a bit slowlier so that the others got it .. can you repeat it? .. please?
Ingrid: how many hours a week can a au pair go to school? (SAME PRONUNCIATION)
Grell: yes how many -- .. what was it? .. **how do you pronounce it someone can help?**
(SOME HANDS UP)
Mirko: hours (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)
Grell: hours .. right

Ms Grell requests Ingrid, who in terms of syntax manages to structure the question successfully, to repeat and slow down. She does so but, as in her first attempt, mispronounces both *hours* and *school*. It can be assumed that Ms Grell, in her request to slow down, wants to double-check on Ingrid's pronunciation mistakes, rather than have her repeat the sentence in order to make other pupils understand it as well. This becomes evident when the teacher decides to refer to *hours* being mispronounced by truncating the phrase *how many hours* and adding the question *what was it*. However, rather than returning the floor to pupils as in a type A grammar-correction frame discussed in 5.3, Grell makes the metafloor explicit by adding the question *how do you pronounce it someone can help*. Mirko claims the floor and correctly pronounces *hour*. Ms Grell closes the sequence by repeating the word and giving a positive feedback.

(19) is noteworthy for various reasons. First of all, the teacher decides to make pronunciation an explicit metasubject even though the focus of the sequence is on syntax and modal verbs. Having merely seen one sequence in the two lessons of this A track in Stätten where the teacher places the main grammatical focus on pronunciation (see extracts (20)-(22) below), I would like to stress in general that a choice for pronunciation metatalk in this classroom is very rare.

In addition, it must be noted that the teacher introduces such pronunciation metafloor in a step-by-step approach. She first tells the pupil to slow down and repeat her utterance. Only then does she explicitly refer to the actual metalevel of pronunciation problem (**in bold**) via inserting the pupil's contribution in truncation and a question (i.e. *yes how many -- what was it?*). For such a planned and structured initiation effort, Ms Grell spends very little time within the established metaframe of pronunciation, merely repeating Mirko's corrected word *hours* and adding a positive feedback. Finally, it is equally remarkable that Grell does not refer to Ingrid's mispronunciation of the word *school* and thus makes a selection regarding the correction of pupils' mistakes within her metapragmatic frame of pronunciation.

Extracts (20)-(22) are all taken from the second lesson of the A track in Stätten and contrast with (19) as they exemplify the only sequence where the teacher explicitly makes pronunciation the grammatical centre of attention. They refer to the introductory sequence, where pupils are instructed to learn how to pronounce and understand some Irish jokes. Before handing out the material, Ms Grell explains that the jokes deal with the stereotypical dullness of Irish people. The class is divided into five groups of three to four pupils, and each group is given one joke and a dictionary to work with. Pupils work in their groups for approximately five minutes before Ms Grell interrupts the sequence and distributes another handout that shows all four jokes. She then requests each group to read out their joke. Pupils do so and the teacher, at various stages, explicitly corrects pupils' mispronunciation as the designated grammar focus.

These are the three jokes (out of five) referred to in the extracts to follow.

Why do the Irish workers never go on strike? Nobody would notice the difference (extract (20)).

Have you heard about the Irishman who went to the dentist to have a wisdom tooth put in? (extract (21)).

Have you heard about the Irishman who never took his wife out anywhere? His mother had warned him not to go out with married women (extract (22)).

(20)

Grell: okay the first round here so .. Esther **could you please pronounce it?**

Esther: why why do the Irish (GERMAN "IRISCH") workers never go on strike? .. nobody would notice (PRONOUNCED /Nəʊ-TI=S/) the difference (ONLY NICO AND FELIPE LAUGH)

Grell: **no there was one word not correct the other of the group know which one?** (NICO, FROM DIFFERENT GROUP, RAISES HIS HAND FIRST, MIRKO IN ACTUAL GROUP TOO) .. yes (TO MIRKO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Mirko: notice (PRONOUNCED /Nəʊ-TaɪS/)

Grell: mhh?

Mirko: ehm no - aso notice (PRONOUNCED /NOTIZE/)

Grell: **how do you pronounce it?**

Mirko: notice (PRONOUNCED /Nəʊ-TaɪS/ AGAIN)

Grell: **have you looked it up?**

Mirko: ehm nei aber chunt vu mir sälber (NICO STILL WITH HAND UP)

Grell: **you *should* look up I said all the words [you have to look up]**

Felipe: [sie das hämmer au] das gseht so komisch us (REFERRING TO PHONETIC ALPHABET IN DICTIONARY)

Grell mm? .. Nico could you find it?

Nico: aso bi Irish [mä seit] ja mä seit nüd irisch

Grell: [right]

Grell: there's a *Irish* worker that's it notice (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) that was okay .. good äh Fe - äh Felipe could you please .. say it again?

Felipe: why do the Irish workers never go on strike? .. nobody would notice (PRONOUNCED /Nəʊ-TI=S/) the difference

Grell: notice (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION) the difference .. good

Extract (20) differs from the previous extract (19) as pronunciation is the grammatical focus and is introduced explicitly by the teacher in her request to *pronounce* the jokes assigned (**in bold**). The teacher's reference to *a word* not being *correct,* in the context of the metaframe established therefore leaves no doubt that it must be interpreted within grammar, i.e. pronunciation work (**in bold**). Mirko, a pupil in the actual group who prepared to read out the joke correctly, understands the metapragmatic context and suggests *notice* as the word being

pronounced incorrectly. In so doing, the pupil performs two tasks simultaneously, which seems to have a confusing effect on the teacher. He correctly suggests that *notice* has been pronounced incorrectly and offers his alternative pronunciation right away. The fact that Grell has not intended to take up *notice* for metapragmatic pronunciation reference (as can be seen in the development of the discourse) and Mirko's equally incorrect pronunciation of *notice,* may explain Grell's momentary confusion, expressed in her questioning *mhh*. Mirko's reaction is swift, i.e. he resorts to pronouncing *notice* as if he were to read it out as a German word and therefore triggers Grell's explicit reinforcement of the metapragmatic frame (**in bold**). Mirko repeats his own correct version of how *notice* should be pronounced. Instead of resorting to a quick type A grammar-correction mode and providing the correct pronunciation of *notice* herself, Ms Grell insists that pupils should always look up the words in the dictionary (**in bold**). Felipe, also in the group preparing the joke, supports Mirko and, within the grammar frame of pronunciation metawork, presumably refers to their inability to read out the phonetic alphabet. Grell, however, does not comment on this hint towards a real meta-aspect of pronunciation but instead brings in a pupil from another group to suggest that *Irish* was mispronounced (in Swiss German). Grell agrees and, surprisingly, adds that *notice* was pronounced correctly by Esther at the beginning of extract (20) (which it wasn't!). The teacher contradicts herself in her final remark by correcting Felipe's pronunciation of *notice*, which, astonishingly, is exactly the way Esther pronounced the word earlier.

In extract (20), the teacher very consistently refers to the explicit metatalk in pronunciation. As, from the teacher's perspective, the conversation about the pronunciation of *notice* takes an unexpected turn, Ms Grell goes beyond simply referring to pronunciation explicitly but instead requests pupils to always look up the correct pronunciation of words. Felipe's response to this explicit metapragmatic request is exemplary for responses given by pupils once explicit type-B metadiscussions develop into an actual exchange between teacher and pupils; it is given in Swiss German. The conversation takes an unexpected twist after Felipe confirms that he has used the dictionary to check on the correct pronunciation. Instead of building on Felipe's reference to the difficulty of reading the phonetic alphabet, Grell carries on in order to direct the metalevel of pronunciation discussion to her intended focus on the word *Irish*. Nico, a pupil in another group, offers a correct suggestion in Swiss German. This extract therefore shows that a metapragmatic dialogue (i.e. talking about how to pronounce words and above all, how to manage situations where pupils don't know how to do it) may well develop between the teacher and pupils. However, it also shows that it may largely be

accomplished in Swiss German by the pupils and involve a teacher who decides what is taken up as a discussion topic within a previously set up metaframe.

Extract (21) directly follows extract (20) in the introductory lesson part on Irish Jokes. It can be seen that the teacher intentionally makes use of the previously established pronunciation metaframe.

(21)
Grell: okay Lindita could you please read it?
Lindita: have you heard about the Irishman (PRONOUNCED IRISCH-MAN, IRISCH AS IN GERMAN) who wan - who went to the dentist to have a wisdom .. tooth (PRONOUNCED /Təʊθ/) put in? (TO NICO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Grell: **yes .. could someone .. correct of the group there was also a word not correct ja** (TO ALICE, WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Alice: Irishman (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)
Grell: **it was the same we have also here an Irishman**

Grell requests Lindita to read the joke, without being as explicit as in (20) in terms of establishing the grammatical metaframe of pronunciation. It can be assumed, however, that Lindita, who mispronounces *Irishman* and *tooth*, knows exactly that Grell's request to correct *a word* must be interpreted as a pronunciation mistake (**in bold**). Alice, another pupil from the group working on this joke, thus provides an alternative pronunciation of *Irishman* and receives positive feedback from the teacher.

Extract (21) provides evidence that a teacher may expect the class to link a previously set metaframe to the actual dialogue situation, which explains why Ms Grell asks Lindita to simply *read* the joke rather than to *pronounce* the words correctly. In this particular example, the teacher establishes the link to the previous metafloor on pronunciation more explicitly at the very end when she gives feedback on Alice's correct pronunciation of *Irishman* with the comment that *it was the same* pronunciation problem as in the first joke and the previous group (**in bold**).

Extract (22) again follows the previous extract (21), involving another instance of metatalk on pronunciation, and is the last extract to be referred to in the A-track classroom in Stätten.

(22)

Grell: right (NICO LAUGHS) .. good then we go to three (TO JONIDA, WHO RAISES HER HAND) .. okay ähm Jonida could you read?

Jonida: have you heard about the Irishman who never took his wife out anywhere? .. his mother had warned (PRESUMABLY PRONOUNCES THE E, SOMEBODY COUGHING) him not to go out with married (PRONOUNCED /MæRɪəD/) woman

Grell: **that was [more] or less correct how do you pronounce the past form? .. warn then the past form is --?**

Jonida: [women]

Michele: warned (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Grell: right you don't say the e the rest was okay

Grell initiates this sequence by asking a pupil from the next group to *read* out the joke. Jonida, who has requested the floor, is given a turn and reads out the joke, albeit with three pronunciation mistakes. She pronounces both silent *e* letters in the past forms of *warned* and *married,* in addition to pronouncing *women* in the singular form. Ms Grell expresses dissatisfaction by using a redressive act. She softens her disapproval by calling it *more or less correct*. This has not been observed in the A track of Stätten so far. Grell, in her reference to incorrect pronunciation of this joke sequence, applies a different strategy in this last extract of the sequence. Instead of referring to the fact that *one word* is *not correct* (see (21)), she specifies the pronunciation aspect in more detail and asks about the correct pronunciation of the past form. She also provides the mispronounced word in its infinitive form. The teacher has made a choice of focusing on one mispronounced aspect only, i.e. in this case neglecting the equally mispronounced past form of *marry* and the plural form *women*. Coupled with the redressive comment on the correctness of Jonida's initial attempt to read out the joke (**in bold**), the teacher creates a metafloor that permits different answers. And in fact, Jonida's overlap comment *women* before the teacher points towards the past form of *warn,* supports this claim. Nevertheless, Grell only comments on Michele's correction *warned*, which is surprising, particularly as the teacher ignores Jonida's attempt to correct *woman.* The teacher even claims that, apart from the mispronounced past form of *warn,* no other pronunciation mistake has occurred.

Extracts (19)-(22), from the track-A classroom in Stätten, have shown that there are various ways of establishing a metaframe on pronunciation discourse. The actual request to *pronounce* a word or a sentence correctly is not imperative. Extract (21), for example, shows that especially in a sequence of similar task focuses, pupils may assume a given metafloor without the teacher's explicit reference (i.e. in this case on pronunciation without Grell mentioning it explicitly). Additionally, Ms Grell in these extracts has indeed failed to correct all mispronounced words. They thus either remained unnoticed and uncommented (as *school* in (19) or *tooth* in (21)), were only commented on by the pupils (as *woman* in (22)), or eventually found their way into explicit metatalk, owing to a pupil bringing it to the surface and the teacher being ready to comment on it explicitly (as with *notice* in (20)).

Comparing the efforts in track A in Stätten to the corresponding track in Alpegg on explicit metacommunication within a pronunciation frame will reveal certain differences. Extract (23) is taken from the introductory phase of the first A-track lesson in Alpegg and deals with the topic of soap operas. The teacher, Mr Schwaller, plays an audio course book track on the Australian soap *Neighbours*. The recording is printed below.

> Ramsay Street in Australia is the imaginary setting for one of the world's most successful soaps. Millions of people follow the lives of characters in *Neighbours*. Its most famous performer is Kylie Minogue, who became a star in the soap. She played Charlene and Jason Donovan played her boyfriend Scott – Jason was later Kylie's boyfriend in real life. And now another *Neighbours* star, Holly Valance, is making a career as a singer.

Before introducing the metasequence on pronunciation, Mr Schwaller asks his pupils about the characteristics of *names* and elicits from a pupil the fact that the first letter is capitalised. He then asks the class to repeat some names after him. He does so as follows.

(23)

Schwaller: perfect .. yes .. please repeat o - only the names .. Ramsay Street

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Ramsay Street

Schwaller: Australia

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Australia

Schwaller: Neighbours

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Neighbours

Schwaller: **how you say this name? (INDICATES IT ON THE POWER POINT SLIDE) .. can you say it? .. Peter**

Peter: Kylie Minogue

Schwaller: yes .. can you repeat please?

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Kylie Minogue

Schwaller: **Kylie Minogue .. yes .. this one? (INDICATES IT ON THE SLIDE) .. Rita (WHO RAISES HER HAND)**

Rita: Charlene

Schwaller: yes .. please repeat

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Charlene

Schwaller: **and this one? (INDICATES IT ON THE SLIDE) … this one Felix (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)**

Felix: Jason

Schwaller: **Jason .. and his family name?**

Felix: Donovan (INCORRECT ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION)

Schwaller: Donovan (REPEATS WITH CORRECT PRONUNCIATION) ..yes .. can you repeat Jason Donovan?

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Jason Donovan

Schwaller: Scott

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Scott

Schwaller: and .. yes .. okay .. Holly Valance

Ps (WHOLE CLASS): Holly Valance

Schwaller: right .. can you please read the whole text not only the names for yourself loudly?

Ps (WHOLE CLASS READS OUT WHOLE TEXT, SOME PRONUNCIATION MISTAKES)

Schwaller: that’s English that’s perfect .. good .. we go on

Mr Schwaller combines class chorus pronunciation of the names referred to in his introduction with individual pronunciation requests directed to selected pupils. With the request to *repeat* after him, Mr Schwaller successfully establishes such chorus repetition, and the pupils pronounce *Ramsay Street*, *Australia* and *Neighbours* after him. The actual metatalk on pronunciation, however, is only established through Schwaller's explicit request for selected pupils to pronounce certain names (**in bold**). Schwaller applies demonstrative situational reference (i.e. exophoric use of demonstrative pronouns) in his successful attempt to direct selected pupils to the actual word that must be pronounced on the power point slide.

Extract (23) is noteworthy for one reason in particular. Mr Schwaller is the only teacher in all the language classes observed who embeds metapragmatic negotiation in classroom pronunciation work, and does so through chorus repetitions. This entails pupils recognising when chorus repetitions are requested or when the teacher actually wants to hear the correct pronunciation from one pupil only. As indicated above, Schwaller does so by using exophoric situational reference to introduce individual pronunciation work, and stresses his intention by nominating one pupil to take the floor. Pupils comply with this metapragmatic organisation and follow the chorus repetition (initiated by Schwaller in his request to *repeat*), as distinguished from individual pronunciation work. They do so even when that clear-cut distinction breaks down and Schwaller asks Felix, who has only pronounced *Jason* correctly, how to pronounce the family name *Donovan*. It is therefore not their explicit metatalk on pronunciation (which is not requested), but instead their ability to follow the teacher's organisation of pronunciation grammar exchange into chorus and individual pronunciation, that marks pupils' linguistic effort in sequence (23). Schwaller closes with a comment on the target language chosen, which belongs to another metapragmatic category that I will focus on in chapter 8 as "norm-of-interaction metapragmatics".

Extracts (24)-(27) show examples of metapragmatic work in the B-track classrooms of Stätten and Alpegg. Analysing the former site to start with, I would like to present extract (24) as a rare instance where Ms Keller explicitly makes pronunciation a grammatical subject in class. It is taken from the introductory sequence of the second lesson. The teacher sets the scene by asking her class to tell her about some (non-fictional) facts they have learnt about Picasso. She thus links the situation to the previous English lesson where Picasso was the content of the grammatical focus of past simple (active and passive). Keller asks her pupils where

Picasso was born, where he lived and how many pictures he painted. Extract (24) instantly follows a pupil's comment that Picasso painted the famous picture The Soler Family.

(24)

Keller: yes the picture we know now look at -- open your books .. page a hundred and twenty-two again (PUPILS OPEN THEIR BOOKS) … that's what Fatlum told he said .. he painted the Soler Family so this is a famous painting .. of Picasso but we know later he did .. other pictures more modern pictures abstract .. mmh .. okay let's go to= exercise 1b .. page a hundred and twenty-three .. you have to fill in the gaps .. we can do this together very short exercise .. you form questions in the past form .. first question Melanie just read the question (MELANIE DOES NOT RAISE HER HAND)

Melanie: who lived in Malaga for ten years? (PRONOUNCED /LaɪVD/)

Keller: **the second word how do we .. pronounce the second word .. *who* .. and the next word?**

Melanie: lived (PRONOUNCED AS ABOVE) lived (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Keller: lived yes very good Melanie okay who lived in Malaga for ten years

Keller initiates metatalk on pronunciation by stating it explicitly and referring to the mispronounced word directly (**in bold**). Melanie repeats her pronunciation mistake before suggesting the correct version. Ms Keller, who herself repeats the question and asks the class again, finally gives her a positive feedback.

This short extract may not be exceptional when interpreted without additional context. The teacher recognises a pupil's mistake, explicitly opens up a pronunciation frame and tells the pupils which word requires improvement in terms of pronunciation. It is noteworthy, however, that Keller alone makes pupils' mispronunciation a grammatical topic for metadiscourse when they have read and mispronounced a word from a written text source. Keller thus distinguishes neatly between mispronounced words from a textual source and mispronunciation of pupils' comments without such textual backup. This suggests that in her own perception of pronunciation discussion, only the former carries grammatical weight for explicit metapragmatic work in the classroom.

In the corresponding B track in Alpegg, clear focus-on-pronunciation metapragmatics as seen in (19)-(24), cannot be observed. By way of contrast, the teacher in one sequence establishes a more complex metaframe. It involves a rare instance of language play as a separate category in my analysis and referred to again in chapter 7. As extract (25) is initiated by a pupil's utterance consisting of two pronunciation mistakes, I have decided to nevertheless analyse the sequence within the metapragmatic category of focus-on-form metapragmatics in this subchapter.

Ms Moser, at the beginning of the second lesson, establishes the grammatical focus of past continuous already worked on in the previous lesson. She does so by asking pupils what they *were doing at 7 o'clock this morning*. After a number of pupils' comments (e.g. *I was eating* or *I was going to the bus*) and Ms Moser's reference to the surprising snowfall that morning in May (i.e. *and then I saw that it was snowing*), she changes the subject by asking Salome what date it is. Classroom interactions on the real-world experiences of her pupils develop as follows.

(25)

Moser: what date is today what date is today? .. who can tell me? .. what date Salome?

Salome: the thirteenth ehm Mai (PRONOUNCED/Maɪ/)

Moser: **the thirteenth Mai? (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/) .. what is that? .. Michaela (WHO RAISES HER HAND)**

Michaela: the fourteenth of Mai (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/)

Moser: **the thirteenth of *Mai* (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/) .. *mai mai* (SIBYLLE RAISES HER HAND AND MOSER SIGNALS NON-VERBALLY)**

Sibylle: May (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Moser: the thirteenth of May .. is today the thirteenth of May? .. on the thirteenth of May [I] was walking out to the Stoss (ADRIAN RAISES HIS HAND)

Eliane: [nei=]

it's thirty

Moser: **the thir*tith* it's the thirty .. how do we say that? .. Adrian (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)**

Adrian: thirtieth

Moser: the *thirtieth excellent* can you say the full date then?

Adrian: the thirtieth of May

Salome, in her contribution at the beginning of (25), makes several mistakes at once. First of all, she mispronounces the month *May* and even shows doubt about its correctness with a hesitating *ehm*. Secondly, she drops the necessary preposition *of*. And thirdly, she fails to give Ms Moser a correct answer on the content level. As will be shown, the actual date to be referred to is not the thirteenth but the thirtieth of May.

Thus, her teacher has to decide whether to react to Salome's contribution on the propositional content level or to focus on the grammar mistake by establishing a grammar metafloor. Moser, however, by repeating Salome's utterance and adding *what is that* (**in bold**), neither opens up an explicit metafloor on grammar, nor mentions that the correction should be carried out on the propositional content level of the sentence. This lack of explicitness is reflected in Michaela's answer. Her correction is made both on content (*thirteenth→fourteenth*) and on grammar (*Mai→of Mai*). Moser's reaction is swift. By using Salome's original incorrect date *thirteenth* rather than Michaela's (equally incorrect) content correction to *fourteenth*, she leaves no doubt about the instantaneous focus being on grammar rather than content. She also stresses the incorrect pronunciation of the English word *May* and applies a very rare instance of language play (*mai mai 'beware'*) to indicate that the grammatical metaframe should be made the centre of attention. Sybille manages to interpret Moser's effort and gives the correct pronunciation of *May*. Moser repeats the grammatically correct date (*the thirteenth of May*) but adds the date in a question format and includes a personal past activity in order to close the grammar metafloor and to refer to the incorrect date on the propositional content level. Eliane replies by using Swiss German and English in her response *nei, it's thirty*. She thus shows that she has understood that the correction work has to be shifted to content. The teacher, however, does not close the conversation revolving around the date yet and re-establishes a grammar metafloor on pronunciation by deliberately suggesting that *thirty* becomes *thirtith* when used as a date. Adrian, like Sybille earlier, correctly interprets the metafloor to be on pronunciation and provides the correct answer *thirtieth*. Moser finally closes this stretch of discourse by giving a positive feedback and requesting Adrian to repeat the whole phrase.

Unlike some previously analysed extracts, where the pronunciation metafloor is explicitly referred to, as in (19), (23) and (24), or implied within the task given to learn how to pronounce words, as in (20)-(22), Moser in (25) remains open, forcing the class itself to determine if grammar or content should be concentrated on. Pupils thus co-construct and co-

determine the metafloor. The fact that Ms Moser nevertheless refers to pronunciation more explicitly in her application of language play (*mai mai*) or in her reference *how do we say that* later in the sequence, still shows who has the final word in determining what level of discourse to adopt. In addition, the context of (25), with a mixture of content and grammar mistakes, has shown that it is particularly in these situations where misunderstanding regarding the level to adopt arises. Such potential for misunderstanding is certainly increased when the teacher fails to provide clear reference as to what level to zoom in on.

Extract (26) is also taken from the B track in Alpegg and shows a meta-aspect closely linked to pronunciation, a type only found in this classroom. The teacher asks pupils to work on an activity where they have to match questions with the corresponding answers, all based on a fictional dialogue that they have previously worked on. In the extract shown, Moser collects these question-answer blocks in class.

(26)
Moser: **very good very good now when we ask the next question can you think of your voice that when you have question to go down so the question sounds real .. real good?** .. mmh .. ähm Marianne can you try the next?
Marianne: why didn't Jack see Ben fall? (PRONOUNCES WALL)
Moser: ***why* didn't Jack see Ben fall? .. mmh .. down with your voice** .. and Rebekka can you give the answer?
Rebekka: because he was listening to Greg
Moser: excellent .. very good

Moser introduces a metaframe on intonation by suggesting that pupils should think of their *voice* and *to go down* so that the question *sounds real good* (**in bold**). Moser picks Marianne, who does not claim the floor herself. Rather than asking her to provide the correctly matching question-answer pair, she places the main emphasis on the correct intonation of the question. The teacher thus remains within her established grammar metafloor. The fact that Moser has a predetermined grammar metafloor on question intonation in mind is supported by the teacher ignoring the mispronounced verb *fall* (as in English *wall*) in Marianne's question. Moser instead reads out the question once more in a somewhat exaggerated intonation contour with another reference provided to lowering the voice in question formats (**in bold)**. Moser finishes

this stretch by asking Rebecca to give the corresponding answer and by providing a positive feedback on the correct matching of the question and the answer.

In the same sequence of question-answer collection, Moser repeats the reference to correct question intonation three more times and also asks pupils to repeat this intonation structure after her. (27) below gives one such example.

(27)
Sibylle: why did Laura take a photo of Ben?
Moser: **do you remember how ehm Erika said asked a question?**
Sibylle: why did Laura take a photo of Ben?
Moser: ***why*** **did Laura take a photo of Ben? .. can you try it that way? .. with your voice?**
Sibylle: *why* did Laura *take* a photo of Ben?
Moser: that's much better isn't it?

In (27), the teacher also introduces successful intonation attempts by previous pupils and finishes the sequence by declaring a clear improvement on Sibylle's first and second attempt to read out the question. As mentioned in the introduction to extract (26), this is a grammar metaframe that has not been observed in any other classroom, not even when the teacher focuses on pronunciation of individual words.

Pronunciation metawork has not been observed in the C-track classrooms of Alpegg or Stätten. Reconsidering the observations in the C-track classrooms for A-type grammar correction, I have already identified a lack of grammar correction for the rural site in Alpegg. Therefore, it is quite surprising that the teacher does not show any more explicit type-B metadiscussion to "make up" for this observed lack of grammar correction. I will even show that except in the pronunciation metaframe, the C-track teacher in Alpegg does not display any more efforts to establish an explicit type-B metaframe on focus-on-form metapragmatics. In the C track of Stätten, the picture is a different one. Also reconsidering the type-A, grammar-correction efforts observed, where the teacher shows a range of corrective devices from direct correction to truncation, I expected a more frequent development of such instances in more explicit type-B metatalk. As most of the identification of grammar mistakes is expressed in Standard German, however, sequences on grammar hardly exceed the direct correction frame. In other words, the teacher often identifies a grammar mistake by bringing it

to the surface in the non-target language Standard German and requests from the pupils a direct correction (tolerating a non-target language response). Consequently, it is not surprising that a development into more explicit type-B metapragmatics is hardly to be found. In addition, within the grammar field of pronunciation work discussed above, it must be noted that there is already a lack of it in type-A grammar correction, which means that a development into a more explicit type-B pronunciation metaframe cannot be made.

With regard to type-B pronunciation efforts within metapragmatics on form, I have shown that they occur in both A-track classrooms but with different characteristics ((19)-(22) for Stätten and (23) for Alpegg). The teacher in Stätten explicitly establishes a metaframe on pronunciation within the overall focus on pronunciation expressed in the task given to the pupils ((20)-(22)), or refers to pronunciation in a sequence on another grammar topic (i.e. modals see (19)). The corresponding teacher in Alpegg (in (23)) approaches explicit pronunciation metatalk rather differently. After playing a sequence from the book, he opens a pronunciation metaframe and asks pupils to repeat certain words after him, either by picking individual pupils or asking the whole class to repeat after him. He thus anticipates pronunciation mistakes in proactive fashion, rather than correcting pupils' pronunciation mistakes once they have occurred. Neither in Stätten nor Alpegg was I able to find any tendency towards more explicit pronunciation metawork determined by either fictional or real-world propositional content on the first level of discourse.

As for the B-track classrooms observed, I have also pointed out that Ms Keller (in (24)) in Stätten only establishes a metaframe on pronunciation when pupils mispronounce a certain word based on a written source that they are reading out in class. Additionally, Ms Moser in Alpegg has established a more complex metaframe on pronunciation by voicing disagreement with a pupil's pronunciation mistake, without explicitly expressing that she intends to pursue a focus-on-form metaframe (i.e. *what is that*). She thus requests pupils to identify the metapragmatic focus themselves. It has been shown that, especially in sequences where a mistake on the propositional content level of a pupil's utterance co-occurs with a grammar mistake, this requires additional effort by teacher and pupils alike to meet on either focus-on-form metalevel or first level of content negotiation (in (25)). Finally, it is Ms Moser in the B track of Alpegg as well who makes an effort to go beyond word pronunciation, and explicitly makes the intonation of sentences an explicit grammar aspect to discuss metapragmatically.

5.4.3 Focus on Form / Unclear Metafloor

In extract (25), as a complex type of pronunciation metawork, it could be shown that it is particularly the teacher's unclear reference to the metafloor that may trigger an exchange. Extracts (28)-(30) are further examples of teacher-initiated focus-on-form metapragmatics without a clear-cut distinction from discussions developing on the propositional content level in the same dialogues.

Extract (28), just like (25) earlier, is taken from the B track in Alpegg, but from the first lesson in the sequence of two. In the first third of the lesson, Ms Moser introduces the grammatical subject of the past continuous by referring to a dialogue in the course book. Pupils have to read it and answer some comprehension questions. The teacher then asks pupils what *they were doing* at certain times during that day, thus making reference to a propositional content within pupils' own experiences of the real world. Extract (28) shows Ms Moser's introduction to the reporting stage of this activity.

(28)
Moser: okay that's it .. that's it (CLAPS HER HAND A COUPLE OF TIMES) .. finish .. okay .. I would like you to tell us what your partner did at a quarter to eleven .. we ask Marianne to report about Rebekka and please .. please listen .. **if you think something is not quite right .. you can tell us** .. but till then you are quiet and listen what ähm these people have to tell us .. Marianne would you tell us about Rebekka?

In (28), Moser asks pupils to finish the pairwork activity of asking each other what they were doing at a quarter to eleven that morning. She requests Marianne to report about Rebekka. Particularly noticeable is her comment that pupils should speak up if they think that *something is not quite right* (**in bold**). This utterance evokes an important analytical question: what level of interaction does Ms Moser focus on?

It becomes evident that the teacher's utterance can be interpreted both as an establishment of a metaframe on form metapragmatics (the overall focus has explicitly been placed on past continuous in Moser's introduction to this activity), and as a focus on the propositional content. In the latter case, the underlying question is if pupils were actually really engaged in the activities they report. As in (25) above, one may indeed hypothesise about the teacher's intention with respect to either grammar or content clarification. The second part of the

sentence above in bold, however, i.e. *but till then you are quiet and listen what these people have to tell us*, already hints at the actual development of the sequence. Unlike in (25) discussed earlier, where pupils indeed contribute on both grammar and content level, the teacher in (28) remains the only person to comment on the content of pupils' contribution or on the correctness of the past continuous applied.

It could thus be shown that, depending on the didactic setting up of a lesson sequence, an in itself ambiguous reference to the metafloor may not demand much effort from the pupils with regard to determining content or grammatical level in the classroom. Compared to (25), where Ms Moser, in her question *what is that,* forces a pupil to make the initial step to determine a propositional content or grammar clarification metaframe, the same teacher very much remains in the determining position in her ambiguous reference to content or grammar in (28). Her comment allows her alone to determine if content or grammatical metafloor should be given primary attention when giving feedback and/or correcting pupils' contributions. In fact, the teacher in (28) accepts all activities pupils report doing at a quarter to eleven that morning, even such unlikely activities as *I was sleeping*. She thus suggests that she has the grammar clarification metaframe rather than the propositional content level in mind when collecting sentences from pupils. However, the quality of the content may also influence the teacher's choice to either remain on such propositional content or to focus the attention on language contemplation and an insistence on formal aspects on the metalevel. In other words, if the teacher considers the presented content to be incorrect, he or she may insist on the correction of it on the content level. In addition, it is evident that certain task settings, such as the above-mentioned teacher's request from pupils to tell *what they were doing* at a certain time, permit pupils some freedom in their choice of propositional content (actually experienced or made up). In other such requests from pupils to refer to propositional content (e.g. (25), question about the current date), or reference to content in the course book (either fictional story or real-world reference to e.g. Picasso, see below), pupils do not have the same amount of freedom when giving an answer on the content level. This simply enables the teacher to check more easily its propositional correctness.

Extracts (29) and (30) are both taken from the B-track classroom of Stätten. In (29), Ms Keller, at the beginning of the second lesson, collects what pupils have learnt about Picasso's life based on their course book, which she instructs them to keep closed. Asking about Picasso's full name, Ms Keller gives the following response.

(29)
Fatlum: Pablo Ruis Picasso
Keller: yes
Fatlum: and he produced .. he did produce over one hundred pictures
Keller: **is this correct?**
Fatlum: yes
Keller: more than hundred that means a hundred and twenty maybe .. yes

After agreeing on Picasso's full name, the teacher expresses dissatisfaction with Fatlum's utterance *and he produced .. he did produce over one hundred pictures*. Her reaction (i.e. **is this correct?**) suggests that either on the grammatical or on the propositional content level Ms Keller objects to Fatlum's sentence. According to the context of the course book info given, Fatlum's answer is correct on the content level so that it can be deduced that Ms Keller must object on the incorrect grammatical structure *he did produce over one hundred pictures*. Fatlum's answer *yes* does not reveal how he has understood and interpreted his teacher's question. The teacher concludes this short stretch with an interesting comment on the propositional content level, somehow contradicting my interpretation that she must have referred to Fatlum's incorrect grammar with her question *is this correct*.

What this short extract shows again, is a teacher's unclear reference to either content or grammar metaframe. It therefore calls for an interpretative effort on the part of the pupil. As mentioned above, such negotiation over real-world propositional content can be double checked by referring to the information given in the course book.

Extract (30) is taken from the same lesson sequence as (29). Pupils fill a gap exercise in their course books on the grammatical topic of past simple. They are instructed to build sentences to which the answers are *Armstrong did*, *Picasso did* and *Alexander Bell did*. They have talked about these famous people in class, so the context of Armstrong's, Picasso's and Bell's exceptional achievements have been previously developed. In the extract shown, Fatlum again requests the floor in his proposed question to the answer *Alexander Bell did*.

(30)

Fatlum: und who invented the electric light?

Keller: **ä= (SHARP AND SHORT EXPRESSION TO ARGUABLY SAY THAT SOMETHING IS WRONG)**

Fatlum: who did --

Keller: **no no no who invented that's okay**

Fatlum: aha=

Keller: that's great … (WRITES "INVENTED" ON THE BLACKBOARD, FATLUM LOOKS FOR PASSAGE IN THE BOOK) the beginning is great but -- .. it was on pa=ge a hundred and eightee=n

Fatlum (WHO RAISES HIS HAND): it's correct the electric light

Keller: is it correct? Alexander Bell invented the electric light?

Px: no

Keller: or no I'm sorry no he didn't invent the electric li=ght -- .. ja (TO AYSEL, WHO RAISES HER HAND IN THE BACK)

Fatlum: telephone (MENTIONS IT FIRST)

Aysel: the telephone

Keller: yes the whole sentence please

Aysel: who who invented .. the telephone

Keller: yes the telephone … Fatlum okay now?

Fatlum: yes

Keller: the telephone not the [electric light]

Aysel: [mmh]

Keller: Alexander Bell invented the telephone .. okay next page

Keller's reaction to Fatlum's suggestion *who invented the electric light* (**in bold**) leaves room for different interpretations once again. Even shorter than in (29) (*i.e. is this correct?*), Keller voices unambiguously that "something" is wrong. The "something", however, is very ambiguous indeed. In fact, Fatlum, whose sentence is correct in grammatical terms, interprets his teacher's reaction as a reference to the grammatical metaframe on the form aspect of past simple. He thus produces a truncated incorrect first part of the sentence *who did* --. Keller's reaction to clarify the correctness of the sentence within Fatlum's interpreted grammatical metaframe is swift (**in bold**). Fatlum expresses comprehension regarding the establishment of a conversational ground of propositional content rather than grammar and Ms Keller directs

Fatlum to the relevant pages in the course book where Alexander Bell's achievements are referred to. And yet, it takes another short exchange between the teacher, Fatlum and an unidentified pupil, to make Fatlum realise in the end that it was the telephone which was invented by Alexander Bell. Although not granting him the floor any longer and instead asking Aysel to repeat the the whole sentence, Ms Keller nevertheless addresses Fatlum again to ensure that he has understood the corrective level of content rather than grammar.

Extract (25) discussed previously and the above-described sequences (28)-(30), reveal that certain utterances by teachers may permit room for interpretations on the propositional content or grammatical metalevel. I have shown that the development of such initiations largely depend on the opportunity given to pupils to respond to such potentially ambiguous references. In other words, in (25), (29) and (30) where such ambiguous utterances by teachers can be interpreted as an authentic request for clarification on either grammar or content directed to the class, the development of the sequence depends on the floor taken up by the pupils. However, I have also pointed out that the teachers retain control over the discussions, steering exchanges to the conversational floor predetermined (i.e. in (25), not taking up the content level first or in (30), quickly stating that a grammar metaframe should be focused on). Extract (28) has shown that the pupils' freedom to respond on either content level of the lesson or grammatical metalevel is not given when the teacher applies such an ambiguous speech act as an instruction, therefore not granting pupils the floor immediately. In addition, it should also be mentioned that in certain cases such as (29), from a research perspective, some doubt remains about the teacher's intention of either establishing a grammatical metaframe or requesting a clarification on the content level of the lesson. Finally, it is at least notable that, within the limitation of a small set of data with a qualitative analytical approach, such ambiguous references by teachers have only been observed in the B-track classroom of both Stätten and Alpegg.

5.4.4 Focus on Form / Visual Aids used

The next extracts are based on observations made in the B-track classrooms of both Stätten and Alpegg (i.e. (31)-(34)). They show that the teacher may explicitly emphasise grammatical elements by referring to visual elements at hand. Extract (31) is taken from the first lesson in Alpegg as (28) earlier, but from the first part of the lesson. The teacher directs pupils through a comprehension check of the previously mentioned fictional course book reading about a group of teenagers on the river Thames. The grammatical focus is on the past continuous. After asking pupils to take turns, i.e. to read given comprehension questions in the past continuous tense, and to give corresponding answers, Ms Moser inputs on the tense used in this comprehension task as follows.

(31)

Moser: let's leave it .. let's leave it at that okay let's look when we you told me about what was happen .. you said he was erm laughing .. he was shivering .. Laura was taking photos and -- .. do you know what tense form this is? .. was taking .. was shivering .. were laughing? .. Eliane (WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Eliane: the ing

Moser: mmh?

Eliane: the ing form

Moser: the *ing* form .. but before we have the ing form what do we have? .. yes Rebekka (NOT IN CAMERA FRAME)

Rebekka: past simple

Moser: past simple? .. can we use with the past simple ing .. at the end? .. **if you look at page 37 .. look there's a little box .. and there the title of that box Michaela what is it? .. what does it say?**

Alex: grammar

Michaela: grammar .. [complete]

Moser: **[yes and] then .. if you look at the box .. what does it say there?**

Michaela: past continuous was were and present and present par -

Moser: participle

Michaela: [participle]

Moser: [that's the] ing .. the present participle so it's not the past simple but it is the *past* .. *continuous* and ähm if you remember the way it is ähm the sentences .. he was shivering .. he was laughing .. they were taking photos .. **so if you look at the box and there** .. the gaps .. what things .. what which words do you think you have to fill in there to complete the sentences? .. look .. one is done for you .. it says *I* was listening to *Greg* so what is the next that you think you have to fill in? .. R - er Petra (NOT IN CAMERA FRAME)
Petra: I wasn't looking
Moser: I wasn't looking

In extract (31), the teacher moves from a more applied stage of using the past continuous in the comprehension passage to making the tense itself the explicit focus of metapragmatic attention. In other words, she is trying to elicit the label *past continuous* from the class by summarising what pupils have told her on the propositional level about the dialogue in the book. Eliane, who claims the floor, does not quite fulfil her teacher's expectations by referring to the *-ing* form. Moser, repeating her answer, complies with the pupil's approach to metapragmatically define the different elements in the past continuous tense. She asks what has to precede the *-ing* form. Rebekka, however, tries to label the tense, thus responding to Moser's initial question. What follows is an interesting approach by a teacher to elicit the correct tense from the pupils. Moser refers to the title of the next activity in the course book (which says – *GRAMMAR – complete – PAST CONTINOUS: WAS/WERE + PRESENT PARTICIPLE*), thus using the course book to make Rebekka label the tense correctly (**in bold**). Having achieved her goal to trigger the correct tense from the pupil, she also links the term *present participle* to the –ing form that Eliane has suggested at the very beginning of (31). The teacher therefore demonstrates her implicit approach of labelling the elements of the past continuous tense. She refers to *I was listening to Greg,* which is given at the beginning of the activity and which shows clearly that it is the tense form of the verb *to be* that needs to complement the present participle in order to complete the past continuous tense. Moser rounds off the sequence by asking Petra to give the answer to the first sentence (i.e. *I _____n't looking*). She thus ensures that pupils have been able to link the elements *was/were* as well as the present participle to the metasubject of past continuous at hand. Rather than providing the label *past continuous* herself, Moser develops the conversation in a way that forces pupils to identify, analyse and label the elements of the tense themselves. The course book is therefore used as an important source of support in this process and, as will be outlined, is an example

of deliberate reference to visual aids. Such reference can also be seen in the two extracts taken from the same classroom and shown below.

Extract (32) is taken from the same B-track classroom as (31), but from the lesson part in which the teacher asks pupils what they were doing at certain stages during the day (also see (28) above as real-world propositional content based on pupils' experiences). The teacher asks Gwendolin what she *was doing* at 7 o'clock that morning, and the pupil provides the following answer.

(32)
Gwendolin: I'm .. wering douching
(SOME PUPILS GIGGLE)
Moser: **I .. look what you have to use .. I .. I .. next word is I --?**
Alex (WHO TURNS ROUND TO GWENDOLIN): am morgä äm 7i?
Moser: sch= .. ps= .. she knows what she she was doing .. she knows
Gwendolin: äh nei dä bini scho .. ähm=
Moser: ähm= .. come on
Gwendolin: ähm .. dä gangi grad
Moser: but not in German .. we want to hear it in English
Gwendolin: then I go
Moser: then I go *what?*
Gwendolin: to school
Moser: but ..[can you use] --?
Gwendolin [to the school bus]
Moser: **look Gwendolin .. was .. the verb with ing .. can you try it again?**
Gwendolin: I was going .. to the school bus
Moser: excellent .. excellent

Gwendolin simultaneously produces a number of mistakes in her initial utterance. She applies the incorrect past form of *to be*, turns it into a present progressive and uses an incorrect verb for *taking a shower*. The teacher, who wants to elicit *was* instead of *I'm wering*, again makes use of the visual equipment at hand. By means of exophoric reference, coupled with non-verbal support of pointing towards the blackboard, Ms Moser provides Gwendolin with a correct past continuous verb tense in written form (**in bold**). And yet, it is solely the

propositional content of Gwendolin's utterance that arouses Alex' interest and that he questions (Gwendolin as he himself, lives quite far away from school, so taking a shower at 7 o'clock in the morning would not allow her to get to school in time). After granting Gwendolin the floor again and reminding her to use the target language in class (i.e. interwoven metafloor on norms of interaction, see chapter 8), the teacher helps her pupil develop *then I go* into *I was going to the school bus*. Considering Moser's explicit reference to the use of past continuous in her truncated phrase *but can you use* --, I would like to argue that her previous utterance, *then I go what,* expresses dissatisfaction with Gwendolin's grammatically incomplete *then I go*. This is supported by an examination of the teacher's use of pronouns. She simply repeats Gwendolin's *then I go* and does not apply a deictic shift to *then you go*, which makes the pupil's truth-conditioned real-world utterance a fictional sentence to develop the grammar point of past continuous. Gwendolin, however, interprets Moser's question on the propositional content level of the lesson and provides *to school* and *to the school bus*. Moser therefore states the grammatical floor explicitly once more and again uses the blackboard to support the metaframe of past continuous at hand. (**in bold**).

As in (31), Moser incorporates visual elements available in a given context to elicit the grammatical focus of the past continuous. What the two references to the blackboard in (32) also show is that the teacher may indeed vary the level of explicitness of such reference, either merely pointing towards the grammatical elements, or reading them out from a visual source.

Extract (33) is also taken from the first lesson of the B-track classroom in Alpegg, in fact from the very same lesson sequence as (32) earlier. The teacher asks Adrian what he was *doing at lunch time today* (i.e. the lesson took place in the afternoon). It shows again that Ms Moser is using the visual support of the blackboard to guide pupils to the correct past continuous tense. It also indicates that the teacher assesses pupils' answers on the propositional content level, which means that pupils' responses need to fulfil both grammatical and content criteria (which may indeed, as we have seen in extract (25) and (29)-(30), trigger negotiations over the actual level adopted at certain stages of the conversation).

(33)

Moser: for example 12 o'clock what were you doing at 12 o'clock Adrian?

Adrian: I sleep

Moser: today at lunch time?

(PUPILS GIGGLE)

Moser: oh good .. wonderful .. Rebecca what were *you* doing?

Rebecca: we were having lunch

Moser: you were having lunch .. Adrian what were you doing Rebecca was having lunch and *you*?

Adrian: I .. I --

Moser: mmh? .. who can help Adrian? .. what do you think he was doing? Eliane

Eliane: he .. also

Moser: **he also *what*? .. he also --? .. look here (MOSER POINTS TO THE BLACKBOARD)**

Eliane: he also was having lunch

Moser: *excellent* .. he was also having lunch .. wonderful

In the above extract, Adrian clearly fails on both grammatical and content level in his response to his teacher's question about what he was doing at 12 o'clock on that day. Moser indicates her disapproval on the propositional content level by repeating the question *today at lunch time*. She also adds a humorous comment *oh good .. excellent* before granting Rebecca the floor with the clear intention of eliciting a correct answer on the content level of discussion. Rebecca does so successfully, Moser repeats her phrase and again asks Adrian about what he was doing. As Adrian hesitates, Moser asks Eliane to support Adrian and receives the response *he .. also*. The ensuing teacher's comment (**in bold**) suggests that Moser, in spite of focusing on correctness in terms of content, nevertheless remains within the grammatical focus of past continuous. She does so by making use of the blackboard to provide Eliane with the requested correct structure of the verb tense. Eliane, with such support, is capable of producing a correct sentence in terms of grammatical accuracy (at least as far as past continuous is concerned). Moser finally gives approving feedback as well as correcting her incorrect syntax.

Extract (33) therefore shows, as do (31) and (32), that visual elements are explicitly referred to in order to re-establish a grammatical metaframe. Compared to extract (32), however, where the teacher responds to Gwendolin's *then I go* with a similar then *I go what* without a metapragmatic link to a visual element at hand, the result is qualitatively different in grammatical terms in extract (33). Whereas the teacher in (32) only receives a *to school,* and therefore re-establishes the correct grammar metaframe in her following utterance, the same teacher in (33), with a very similar utterance, enables the pupil to produce a grammatically correct sentence – at least within the grammatical focus of past continuous. The supportive character of visual elements for a teacher to re-establish a grammatical metaframe, often when previously dealing with the content of pupils' utterances, can clearly be identified.

There is only one extract in the B track of Stätten where the teacher makes such use of visual elements to support a metapragmatic utterance on a grammatical topic. Extract (34) is taken from the second lesson, as was extract (30). The context of (30) having been previously given, suffice it to state here that the grammatical focus is on past simple forms and the teacher, Ms Keller, asks Vera and Marco to produce a question starting with *who,* to which the answer is *Picasso did*. I will show that, apart from the explicit reference to visual elements discussed from (31) to (33), this extract is particularly noteworthy as the teacher corrects a sentence that does not correspond to the printed answer *Picasso did*.

(34)
Keller: Vera … <u>say a question</u> about Picasso
Vera: eh=m
Keller: Vera do you know where we are?
Vera: ja ehm ehm sie chan ich au das sägä who painted hundreds of pictures?
Keller: no because we had this before I said another one a new question hey you know enough about him … for example Marco (WHO RAISES HIS HAND TOGETHER WITH OTHERS)
Marco: who did ehm born in Malaga ehm in eighty eighty-one
Keller: not did born
Marco: ehm borned (PRONOUNCED /ED/)
Keller: **nä= born ist gebo=ren have a look on page a hundred and twenty-two first sentence**
Marco: was born

Keller: who was born in Malaga in .. ja .. did you have this one? .. no that's okay (WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD) .. in eighteen eighty-one question mark .. don't forget the question marks
Fatlum (WITH HIS HAND RAISED): sie?
Keller: for this question Marco ehm answer wouldn't fit perfectly because he was born but okay

Keller initiates this sequence by asking Vera to *say a question* about Picasso. As Vera hesitates, Keller makes sure that she knows what question is being dealt with and thus organises the discourse. Vera switches to Swiss German in order to find out if she can use a question that has been used about Picasso in class before. She does so, as the teacher in her initiation to this activity explicitly mentions that she only accepts sentences that have not been used in the discussion about Picasso before. Marco is therefore given the opportunity to try and produce a "new" sentence himself. With his answer *who did born in Malaga in eighty eighty-one,* he does not achieve on two levels. He in fact again produces a sentence that another pupil has mentioned in class before and, in grammatical terms, fails to produce a sentence that fits the answer *Picasso did*. He also uses an incorrect past structure with the past participle born, as well as pronouncing the year incorrectly. The teacher, however, as seen in previous examples, has to make a decision about what to correct and focuses on the main grammatical topic of past simple. Her comment *not did born* is a type-A, grammar-correction input that allows Marco to try to produce the sentence again. It is only after another incorrect response that the teacher resorts to making an explicit focus-on-meaning, metapragmatic comment on born (although not taking up Marco's incorrect *borned*) and supports her comment with a reference to the course book (**in bold**). She combines a metapragmatic comment on meaning with a reference to visual material based on a focus-on-form agenda on the metapragmatic level. It can be stated that a reference to a visual aid that gives the correct structure, often represents a teacher's final and successful attempt to have a pupil produce the correct grammatical structure. The teacher here completes Marco's correct but incomplete *was born* by repeating the whole sentence and correcting the mispronounced reference to the year. I would argue that she does not make Marco's erroneous pronunciation an explicit metasubject as this sequence requires another clarification on the grammatical metalevel. In spite of being unclear and very vague in her reasoning as to why this sentence does not correspond to the printed answer *Picasso did*, she nevertheless concludes this stretch by explicitly referring to the mismatch of *was born* and *Picasso did*.

Extract (34) is certainly the most complex stretch of discourse analysed regarding the use of visual elements. Displaying an instance of pupil's code-switch to ask an organisational question and some type-A grammar corrections without explicit metacomments, the extract still shows quite clearly that grammatical metawork can be, and is being, coupled with explicit references to visual material. It also shows that, within such metapragmatic efforts on form aspects, the teacher has the opportunity to apply metacomments on meaning (i.e. *born ist geboren*) in order to clarify a grammatical structure. Metapragmatic hierarchy structures will be developed and summarised in chapter 10. The fact that extracts (31)-(34) are all taken from the B track of both sites, is surprising, but does not permit further interpretations in the absence of more lessons recorded in my set of data.

5.4.5 Focus on Form / Tenses

In the next four extracts (i.e. (35)-(38)), the emphasis will be placed on explicit metapragmatics on the grammatical topic of tenses. I will first focus on the C-track classes of both sites. In so doing, my aim will be to provide examples of how the C-track teachers in both Alpegg (extract (35)) and Stätten (extract (36)) establish a grammatical metaframe on tenses. I will argue that there is a subtle difference between the two extracts, with regard to the combination of vocabulary clarification as an instance of focus-on-meaning metatalk. I will also describe one extract as a rare attempt to go beyond metatalk on the form of a tense. In addition, I will contrast (35) and (36) with extracts (37) and (38), taken from the B-track classroom in Alpegg. These last two extracts are taken from the only classroom in my sample where metapragmatics on tenses regularly goes beyond the labelling of forms and includes explicit references to the use of such tenses.

Extract (35) is taken from the first of two lessons in the C-track classroom of Alpegg. The teacher, after correcting homework, introduces the new unit and focuses on *The Great Fire of London*. The topic is thus a real-world event that is reported on in the course book with the grammatical focus on affirmative and negative past simple forms.

(35)

Stocker: okay … we go to the next lesson .. in your books (PUPILS TAKE OUT THEIR BOOKS, NOISE) … page thirty-two (STOCKER WRITES STH ON THE BLACKBOARD) … The Fire Started at the Baker's … **can you translate this title?** .. Andi

Andi: ehm das .. feuer startet .. ähm beim bäcker

Stocker: at the baker's … at a .. bei einem bäcker ähm .. **started? .. what do you think about this word started? .. you know the word start and now you see started .. what could it be?** .. yes (TO KLEMENS, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Klemens: startete

Stocker: startete .. ähm .. that's right .. **it's the past time ähm .. die vergangenheit .. okay** .. now .. number one opener look at the picture use the words to describe what you can *see* .. I want you to describe .. the picture .. and use the words here .. boat a bridge buildings .. burn a church escape flames a river smoke .. do you know the words? ... Adrian

Adrian: ähm what's the meaning of ähm escape? (PRONOUNCES /ESKæP/)

Stocker: escape?

Adrian: escape [ja]

Stocker: [ja]

Stocker: flucht

Adrian: a=h

Odette: fluch?

Stocker: flucht .. oder flüchten

Stocker, in his introduction to the new unit, opens a focus-on-meaning, metapragmatic vocabulary clarification frame by asking Andi to translate the title *The Fire Started at the Baker's* (**in bold**, focus on meaning analysed in more detail in chapter 6). Triggered by Andi's erroneous translation of *started* with 'startet', the teacher swiftly moves to establishing a grammatical, i.e. focus-on-form, metaframe of past simple. He attempts to elicit what the difference between *start* and *started* could be (**in bold**). Klemens, however, remains within the previously established metaframe on meaning and correctly translates *started* with the German equivalent 'startete'. Stocker provides a positive feedback but, nevertheless, directs pupils' attention to the past tense by explicitly commenting on the form of the past tense (**in bold**). The fact that he code-mixes English and German suggests what has been found and commented on before; the target language English, in the lowest academic track in Alpegg (and Stätten too in fact), is far from being the only language applied in the classroom. In fact,

Standard German is particularly frequent in stretches of metapragmatics. Interestingly, this instance of code-switching to Standard German functions well as a lead-in to the direct follow-up in the lesson. Mr Stocker asks about the meaning of certain text-related words displayed in the course book and is being given German translations rather than explanations in English as answers.

(35) is an example of explicit metapragmatic reference to tenses with a teacher's effort to elicit students' comments on the form of the past simple. It must be noted, however, that the metapragmatic sequence on tenses is tightly embedded in a metaframe of focus-on-meaning vocabulary clarification (i.e. initial teacher's request to translate the title and follow-up task with pupils' translations of selected words). It therefore shows quite unequivocally that vocabulary clarification may indeed replace grammar metapragmatics. Often, vocabulary clarification, as an alternative to grammar metapragmatics, seems to be the more straightforward communicative exchange for all participants. The reason for this may be the clear structure in vocabulary sequences, with pupils asking a word in the target language and the teacher giving an answer in Standard German.

Extract (36) is the longest example in my analysis chapters. It shows a teacher's attempt to establish a grammatical metaframe on the use of the present tense. It is coupled with pupils' misunderstanding on such a level, a focus-on-meaning metapragmatic vocabulary clarification sequence, and a final re-establishment of focus-on-form metapragmatics about the tense (all indicated to clarify the extract). It is taken from the first lesson of the aforementioned C track in Stätten. The teacher first collects which tenses pupils know and then either arbitrarily asks pupils to label either decontextualised and fictional sentences he provides, or sentences that pupils themselves invent. (36) is taken from the first third of the lesson after pupils have been given time to write some sentences in their course books. The initial sentence *I forgot my homework* is thus a sentence a pupil has produced and which the teacher now wants his pupils to transform into a present simple equivalent.

(36)

Initial request for transformation

Sieber: I forgot .. my homework .. who wants to try to make the present simple?

Px1: past [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]

Sieber: [Vico] (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Vico: I forget my homework

Teacher's attempt to establish a focus-on-form metadiscussion on the use of present simple forms

Sieber: **genau .. I f - auf wen trifft I forget my homework zu? .. ja**

Massimo: **auf mich** (RAISES HIS HAND)

Sieber: auf *dich?*

Massimo: ja *ich* vergess amel meine Aufg -

Sieber: **[achtung] what is the difference between .. I *forget* my homework** und who wants to make the present continuous? (KNOCKS ON THE BLACKBOARD) .. who tries to make a present continuous? .. yes

Px2: [vergissisch du immer diini uufgabä?]

Massimo: I am forget .. my homework

Sieber: **I am forgetting my homework yes .. okay das tönt sehr komisch .. geb ich zu .. but what is the difference between present simple and present continuous? .. what's the difference?**

Massimo: ähm present continuous äh=m denn die werden immer ing

Sieber: **yeah .. und auf dem zeitstrahl** (SIEBER DRAWS A TIME LINE) … now .. und .. weiss öppert vu eu öppis?.. usually

Px3: usually

Sieber: also … ja (TO MASSIMO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Massimo: I am forgetting ähm ist bei now (REFERS TO THE TIME LINE) .. [vergessen jetzt mein ich]

Sieber: [genau] .. ja okay ist komisch ich verge=sse jetzt genau in dem moment ver- vergess ich meine hausaufgaben .. [[geht nicht ganz auf]] .. aber ist mein fehler .. ich hab .. euch auf den falschen weg geleitet

Massimo: [[INCOMPREHENSIBLE]]

Sieber: but .. ich vergesse *normalerweise* meine hausaufgaben? .. Behar (WHO DOES NOT RAISE HIS HAND)
Behar: hä=?

Focus-on-meaning metadiscussion as a vocabulary clarification insert

Sieber: heisst was? .. was heisst normalerweise?
Behar: üseli (ARGUABLY MEANT TO PRONOUNCE USUALLY)
Sieber: usually .. also .. nicht vergessen .. normalerweise meine hausaufgaben?

Misunderstanding on propositional content level of sentence

Behar: ja nüd nur ich
Ps: (LAUGH)

Re-establishment of focus-on-form metadiscussion on the actual form of present simple

Sieber: nein nicht nur du .. try in English … originalsatz von Igor war? .. repeat Igor
Igor: I forgot my homework
Sieber: I forgot my homework .. I forget my homework .. und .. jetzt mit usually?
Igor: I --
Sieber: zuerst nur frage .. usually .. welche zeitform ist es? .. which time is it? ... present continuous or present simple? … the others help
Oliver: present simple (RAISES HIS HAND)
Sieber: present simple yes (WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD) … present simple heisst was? .. I --? .. I for*got* my homework I --?
Px4: forget
Px5: forget
Sieber: I --?
Px6: forget
Sieber: forget my homework .. und jetzt noch usually einsetzen .. where does it belong? .. wohin gehört es? .. I --?
Behar: I'm usually forget --
Sieber: I'm usually forget? .. achtung nicht I'm --
Behar: I'm forgettisch (STRANGE PRONUNCIATION OF ENDING)
Sieber: nein nein nein achtung moment .. I --?
Behar: I usually --

Sieber: und dann weiter?
Behar: forget .. your homework
Sieber: my homework
Behar: my homework
Sieber: repeat .. I--?
Behar: I usually .. to get --
Sieber: forget
Behar: forget forget my homework
Sieber: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) könnt ihr nachschauen .. It's --?
Behar: forget
Sieber: auf der linken seite das zweitunterste
Behar: ja .. ja (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Sieber: forget .. forgot

Mr Sieber initially requests a transformation into the present simple. This takes place on the propositional, albeit fictional, level of the content established through the sentence given first. After Vico's successful attempt, the teacher goes one step further and sets out to establish a metaframe on the grammatical use of the present simple tense. It must be noted, however, that such a focus on the use of a tense is very rare in the C track in Stätten. In fact, it can be argued that Massimo's answer to Sieber's *auf wen trifft I forget my homework zu,* 'who does I forget my homework apply to' (**both bold**), which shows the pupil's misunderstanding of the question as being asked on the propositional content rather than the metapragmatic level of grammatical tense use, indicates that such grammatical focus beyond the form of a tense is not common usage in this classroom.

The teacher re-initiates the metalevel of grammar use (**in bold**) and couples such effort with another request for a transformation of the sentence into the present continuous. After a comment on the misunderstood content level of forgetting one's homework by an unidentified pupil, Sieber completes Massimo's incomplete *I am forget my homework* to *I am forgetting my homework.* He also admits that it does indeed sound ungrammatical in the progressive aspect (**in bold**) and nevertheless tries once more to establish a metapragmatic framework on the use of the tenses, in this case on the difference in use between the present simple and the present continuous.

Considering the teacher's previous focus on the present continuous form (albeit with the intention to elicit the present continuous to contrast it with the present simple in terms of tense use), it does not come as a surprise that Massimo's answer (i.e. *ähm present continuous äh=m denn die werden immer ing*) is given on the metalevel of form rather than tense use. Mr Sieber attempts to establish a metafloor on grammar use of tenses once more (**see bold,** i.e. reference to time line) and also makes use of the blackboard to support his point (see extracts (31)-(34) for metapragmatic references to visual material). Massimo finally comments within the metapragmatic framework of grammar use that the teacher has tried to establish. This is followed by Sieber admitting that he has not chosen the sentence wisely to contrast the simple and progressive aspect in terms of tense use.

What follows is a focus-on-meaning vocabulary clarification insert that Sieber applies with the intention of showing the use of present simple as a habit, i.e. something one *usually* does. Clearly, this vocabulary sequence differs from the focus on meaning in (35) as it serves the purpose of contrasting the use of present simple (by using the adverb usually) with the present continuous form on a time line drawn on the blackboard. I have shown in (35), however, that metatalk on grammar forms may originate in a vocabulary exchange and develop into a vocabulary exchange again, suggesting pupils' (and possibly teachers') preference for vocabulary clarification over grammar metatalk on tenses.

It is noteworthy that Behar, who is questioned by the teacher in the short vocabulary sequence, misunderstands the teacher's previous *nicht vergessen* (similarly to Massimo earlier in the sequence) as a comment on the propositional content level. He interprets the teacher's comment as a warning not to forget his homework, whereas the teacher arguably wants to emphasise the importance of the time adverb *usually* with regard to the present simple aspect. In addition, it should also be noted that Mr Sieber concludes this long sequence by establishing a grammar metaframe on the form of the tense at hand (present simple, i.e. *I forget my homework* in this case). This takes at least as much time as the first part of the sequence. Sieber is twice misunderstood on the metalevel of tense use by his pupils and has to employ a vocabulary meta-input on meaning in his attempt to talk about the contrast between present simple and continuous explicitly. This shows that surface metatalk on grammar tense forms, as in the end of (36), is far more easily achieved than talking about the use of tenses.

With reference to metapragmatics on tenses in the B-track classroom in Alpegg as well, (37) and (38) will be discussed below. Extract (37) is a short extract taken from the beginning of the first lesson. The teacher comments on an activity that pupils have just completed, i.e. inserting either *was* or *were* into gaps of past continuous sentences on a fictional course book dialogue. Extract (38) is taken from the second half of the same lesson after pupils have practiced the past continuous by relating to their real life (e.g. *I was cooking in the kitchen at a quarter to eleven*). In both sequences, the teacher shows a strong metapragmatic effort to go beyond the form of past continuous and makes the use of it an explicit subject for grammar metatalk.

(37)

Moser: wonderful .. wonderful so what are these *was* and *were*? .. what are these?.. can you tell me? .. *was*? .. *were*? (WRITES THEM ON THE BLACKBOARD) .. what are these forms? .. what do --? .. where do they belong to? .. ähm Sibylle (WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Sibylle: past [the past of the verb to be]
Moser: [the past of what] .. of?
Sibylle: to be
Moser: of the verb to be the past forms of the verb to be so when we want to use this tense form past continuous we have to use .. was were and --? .. the main verb with --?
Sibylle: ing
Moser: the main verb with ing and altogether this is called the .. *past continuous* .. tense .. it sounds a bit a lot but it's actually very simple as you already have found out when you used it look here we are .. the form is was were plus verb and ing .. **we use this form when we want to say what happened in the past but at a certain time .. when I say ähm .. I was home yesterday I .. read a book .. yesterday .. now if Alex wanted to know *when* he would say .. when were you reading a book .. and I would say .. I was reading a book at 8 o'clock .. or I was reading at 8 so when we want to say what happened at a certain time we use this form .. look for example 12 o'clock .. what were you doing at 12 o'clock Alex?**

The teacher, in his input to the class, makes explicit reference to when the past continuous can actually be applied (**in bold**). The explanation given to the class, however, lacks the grammatical preciseness that I will highlight in extract (38) given by the same teacher. By referring to the use of the past continuous *to describe what happened in the past but at a certain time* and then by emphasising that the *when* would trigger a past continuous, Ms

Moser attempts to input beyond the level of language form. However, she at best hints at the main use of the past continuous, i.e. to describe what was going on at a particular past point in time. Before considering how she improves on such reference to tense use in extract (38), I would like to stress that this grammatical metaframe of tense use is preceded by a metalevel of grammar form again. This may suggest what seems to have been the case in extract (36) earlier; metapragmatics on tenses is more straightforward when remaining on the surface of tense form, without going into the deeper level of tense use.

(38)
Moser: okay now did you realise when you had to make sentences soon then it's a bit more difficult when we have to think of all the three things? .. look ähm .. you can write *this* .. part (RELATES TO THE BLACKBOARD) in ähm your workbook tomorrow .. we won't do that today but we read it before we ähm stop doing this .. **when we .. use this for I told you when we talk about the past and we want to know *when* somebody was *doing* something ..** yes Gwendolin (WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Gwendolin: chanis etz schnäll abschribä wili morn nüd da bin?
Moser: yes .. my dear girl okay .. **so we use the past continuous .. this is what it's called .. ähm to describe what was happening at a certain time in the past** .. like I said what were you doing at 12 o'clock this morning or a week ago etc .. and sometimes we also use this form when we want to tell a story .. for example .. she woke up at 7 -- .. Gwendolin (TEACHER ADDRESSES GWENDOLIN) .. and ähm .. the sun was shining .. and the birds were singing mmh .. that's sometimes how the stories begin .. **and we also use it to describe a longer action .. for example .. I was walking down the road when two cars crashed** .. walking down the road is a bit longer and the two cars they crash and that's a short moment .. so for the longer thing for the longer action we use the past continuous and f - for the shorter action we use the past simple .. we will look at this ähm later on .. here I wrote some examples

Moser again makes it explicit that the past continuous relates to the *when* of a certain past activity, but also adds *when somebody was doing something* (**in bold**). She therefore contrasts her input with (37), where she mentions the *when* in the context of *what happened in the past*. In extract (38), Moser is even more precise by relating to the past continuous as *what was happening at a certain time in the past* (**in bold**). In addition, she relates to the duration of a past activity, making it clear that this contrasts with a single and sudden activity in the past simple (**in bold**).

With regard to the focus on metapragmatics on tenses, it may initially come as a surprise that instances have only been found in the C-track classrooms of both sites and the B-track classroom in Alpegg. However, the absence of metatalk on the grammatical focus of tenses in both A-track classrooms can be accounted for. In these two classrooms, the overall focus of the two lessons recorded have a main grammatical topic other than a tense itself (i.e. modals in Stätten and sentence structure in Alpegg). What is less easy to explain is the absence of grammar negotiation over a certain tense in the B track of Stätten, where in fact the explicit grammatical focus of both observed lessons is the past simple. I have shown that incorrect forms are merely corrected within a type-A, grammar-correction mode (see 5.3), but are not explicitly adopted in a grammatical metaframe. Regarding the extracts discussed, I have argued that in the C track of Alpegg (extract (35)), a grammar metaframe on tenses does not go beyond a discussion about tense forms and in fact is largely interspersed with vocabulary focus-on-meaning metatalk, in the format of individual word translations. In the C track of Stätten (extract (36)), there are rare instances where the teacher attempts to develop metatalk on grammar tenses into a discussion with pupils on the use of tenses. However, such metatalk on the use of tenses does not succeed, and a combination of vocabulary clarification, as well as more surface discussion on the grammatical form, dominates (often in Standard German). Finally, the B track in Alpegg is the only classroom in my set of data where the teacher more frequently tries to direct metapragmatic discussion on tenses towards tense use, but more in the format of teacher input to the whole class rather than an interactive discussion with pupils.

5.4.6 Focus on Form / Non-target Language Variety

I have already referred to the higher frequency of code-mixing (i.e. target language English with either Standard or even Swiss German) in the C-track classrooms of both Stätten and Alpegg. In this subchapter, I will present extract (39) from Alpegg, as well as extract (40) from Stätten, in order to focus more closely on metapragmatics outside the target language. Whereas the previously discussed extract (35) from the C track in Alpegg consists of code-mixing, owing to the teacher's effort to have his students translate certain sentences or words within metapragmatics on meaning (i.e. *can you translate this title*), the same teacher in the extract below code-mixes himself in order to simplify pupils' understanding on the metapragmatic level on formal language aspects. This somehow logical reason for resorting to a language pupils are more familiar with when discussing a grammar subject, is even

developed further in extracts (40) in Stätten, where the teacher couples code-mixing with language comparative input.

Extract (39) is taken from the very end of the second lesson. The teacher asks his pupils to underline the various verbs, and put them into certain categories according to the way *they look*. This activity is based on the textbook reading of a real event, *The Great Fire of London*. The grammatical topics, as pointed out with reference to extracts analysed earlier, are the affirmative and negative forms of the past simple tense.

(39)
Stocker: The Great Fire .. your job is .. to look for the verbs .. **ihr müsst die verben suchen** mmh .. underline .. write it in your notebooks the verbs and to make .. separation .. **versuecheds iiteilä mmh .. also verben suchen .. unterstreichen .. ins ähm heft zu schreiben und sie einzuteilen nach .. nach aussehen ich sag's mal so versuchen sie einzuteilen nach aussehen .. die verben** .. example .. look at the text .. first sentence when the Romans came to Britain in the first century AD .. they built a town called Londinium .. where are the verbs? .. we look for the verbs .. Remo (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Remo: came
Stocker: that's right .. there's another one .. yeah (TO MATTHIAS, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)
Matthias: called
Stocker: called yes and also built mmh .. built .. **jetzt habt ihr hier drei verben die müsst ihr herausschreiben und versuchen wenn ihr dann alle habt mmh dann seht ihr dann schon etwas das etwas speziell ist an diesen verben .. ihr werdet das dann schon sehen glaubt es mir mmh man kann sie einteilen .. das ist die aufgabe auf morgen**

The teacher opens this interaction by translating what he has mentioned in English before. In addition, he does not stick to Standard German only but in fact translates his (grammatically incorrect) *to make separation* into Swiss German (*versuecheds iiteilä*). At the end, Stocker switches to Standard German once more, this time without primarily translating previously made exercise instructions. Instead, Stocker tells the class how to separate the verbs into certain categories, i.e. applies the German code to explain the context of the task within a grammatical metaframe (**in bold**).

In extract (40), taken from the corresponding C track in Stätten, metapragmatics unfolding in Standard German, can be found as well (in its high frequency only comparable to the C track in Alpegg where (39) is taken). However, the teacher goes beyond the mere translation of instructions and, within the actual explanation of a grammar point, links it to Standard German. It is extracted from the second lesson in Stätten, where the teacher corrects an exercise that has previously been done in class. The propositional sentence extract (40) is based on, is printed as follows in the course book; *the Beatles were famous in the 1940s*. Pupils should have converted this sentence into *the Beatles weren't famous in the 1940s, they were famous in the 1960s*.

(40)
Sieber: perfect .. number three .. Dario (NOT IN CAMERA FRAME)
Dario: the Beatles were famous in nineteen hundred forty .. **was mit dem s?**
Sieber: nineteen-fortie*S*
Dario: nineteen-fourteen*S*
Sieber: **auch nicht fourteen*S* fortie*S***
Dario: fortie*S*
Sieber: **ja das sind welche jahre?**
Dario: vierzig jahre .. vierziger jahre
Sieber: **vierzig*er* oder anstatt ein *er* anhängen hängt man im English ein *s* an**
Dario: they weren't from the nine- nineteen-forties they were from the nineteen-sixties
Sieber: perfect

Dario already stumbles over the plural *s* when reading out the incorrect (according to content) sentence given in the course book. He opens the grammatical metaframe by asking his teacher about the plural *s* in Standard German (**in bold**). Sieber does not adopt this metaframe by providing an answer within explicit metapragmatics, but instead gives the correct answer instantly (previously labelled type-A grammar correction, see 5.3). Dario repeats Stocker's answer, however incorrectly, by making *nineteen-forties* into *nineteen-fourteens*. This is the moment where the teacher switches to Standard German himself, contrasting incorrect with correct solution (**in bold**). After Dario's repetition of the correct answer, the teacher asks a comprehension question in order to ensure understanding, again in Standard German (**in bold**). Dario, in his second attempt, succeeds in translating *1940s* with the correct *vierziger jahre*. Prompted by Dario's first translation attempt (i.e. *vierzig jahre*), Sieber now compares

the German suffix –er with the the English suffix –s, thus finally comments within the grammar metaframe initially established by Dario (**in bold**).

It must be noted again that it is only in the C track of both Alpegg and Stätten where both pupils and teachers regularly resort to Standard German (in the case of Alpegg sometimes even Swiss German) when discussing grammar within a focus-on-form metaframe. Whereas in Alpegg, this is frequently interspersed with almost word-by-word translations of instructions that, looked at in isolation, can even be interpreted as metacommunication on meaning rather than form, the C classroom in Stätten shows more complexity. The teacher occasionally inputs on similarities and differences between English and Standard German as a true attempt to simplify pupils' understanding of grammar through metacommunication on language form.

5.4.7 Focus on Form / Initiation by Pupils

In extracts (41)-(43), the focus on metapragmatics and grammar clarification is centred on pupils' efforts to develop such negotiation. This group of examples thus links up with extract (40), which I have analysed as an instance of metapragmatic work on code-mixing, but which can also be seen as a pupil's effort to trigger such metadiscussion (see Dario's initial utterance *was mit dem s*). Prior to analysing such pupils' efforts, I would like to make a number of comments in connection with the technical limitations of data collection. First of all, apart from extract (40), extract (41) is the only pupil-initiated metatalk on focus-on-form grammar clarification found in teacher-fronted classroom sequences. In other words, hardly any pupil (regardless of academic track or site of observation) actively requests a discussion on grammar by asking the teacher in front of the whole class. This suggests a strong teacher-dominated organisation of grammar metatalk in my classrooms. On the other hand, it calls for a closer focus on classroom sequences where the teacher does not hold the position of the distributor of speaking rights and the determiner of metapragmatic topics himself/herself. Indeed, there are instances in group/pair activity sequences, where pupils do request a clarification on the grammar front. However, a word of warning regarding the collection of such instances must be spelled out. As lesson transcriptions are mainly based on camcorder material, and the recording device itself remained in one position, possible pupil-initiated grammar metatalk was only recorded when the discussion took place at relative proximity to the device. Therefore, I only have a limited number of such pupil-initiated instances; (41) and

(42) belong to this subset. They are contrasted to show that even when pupils request a focus-on-form grammar (or focus-on-meaning vocabulary) discussion, it is the teacher who mainly directs the conversation. In addition, (43) is the longest of the collected pupil-initiated grammar clarification with a particular insistence of the pupil to have a grammar point explained.

(41) and (42) are both taken from the C-track classroom in Alpegg, (41) from lesson two and (42) from lesson one. In (41), the context is an introductory activity where pupils, on the basis of a handout prepared at home, are asked to match famous faces with the corresponding names, and to read out a number of sentences written about them. The grammar focus is past simple and Klemens requests to find out what *wrote* means. He refers to a sentence for William Shakespeare (*he wrote plays*). In the lesson sequence where (42) is taken from, pupils, after listening to a short track about the real event of *The Great Fire of London* and asking some vocabulary comprehension questions in plenary, work on a true/false comprehension activity on the topic. Andi makes the effort to ask his teacher about the word *wrote* as well. The initiation of extract (41) and (42) is therefore similar. Nevertheless, I will show that the two extracts develop quite differently.

(41)
Klemens: was heisst wrote? (KLEMENS DOES NOT PRONOUNCE „T“)
Stocker: wrote? .. it’s a special form .. the past of write mmh .. die vergangenheit von write .. er schrieb spiele .. he wrote plays

(42)
Andi: what’s the meaning of wrote?
Stocker: wrote?
Andi: wrote
Stocker: wrote .. it’s not in the book? .. **wrote see write** (STOCKER READS FROM THE VOCABULARY SECTION OF PUPIL’S BOOK) .. what’s the meaning of write?
Andi: schreiben
Stocker: schreiben .. wrote?
Andi: sie schrieben
Stocker: schrieb

In (41), Klemens' question *was heisst wrote* takes the form of a focus-on-meaning vocabulary clarification rather than an explicit request for a grammar clarification of the past form. This is supported by the fact that, in the lead-in sequence to (41), the teacher asks pupils what a *writer* as well as what a *play* is and is twice given a translation into German (not caught in (41)). Despite this pre-established focus-on-meaning metaframe, the teacher does not only translate *wrote* but provides a grammar input as well. He thus combines a vocabulary with a grammar metafloor. As seen earlier, grammar metadiscussion in the weakest academic tracks often evolves into Standard German.

(42), by way of contrast, shows that a pupil-initiated request on a focus-on-meaning vocabulary level does not necessarily develop into grammar metadiscussion. Instead, Stocker repeats the past form of write and directs Andi to the vocabulary section of the course book. By reading out *wrote see write* (**in bold**), he manages to remain on the vocabulary level and re-initiates this frame with the question *what's the meaning of write*. Andi does not show any problems with the answer and Stocker adds *wrote*, raising his voice to indicate that he wants to hear a translation as well. Andi does so (*sie schrieben*), which is corrected by Stocker into *schrieb*, keeping the meaning of the original sentence (*he wrote plays*).

Extract (41) shows that, despite being initiated by a pupil and developed into a combination of vocabulary and grammar clarification, its grammar clarification aspect is clearly determined by the teacher, who not only translates the verb but adds a grammar input as well. In (42), on the other hand, the teacher remains solely on the vocabulary level, in spite of a very similar pupil's initiation. Thus, even if a pupil initiates a potential grammar clarification, these two extracts suggest that it is nevertheless the teacher, who determines whether or not to continue a conversation within a focus-on-form grammar metaframe (be it in front of the whole class or only talking to an individual pupil).

As mentioned above, extract (43) is the longest pupil-initiated focus-on-form, grammar-clarification sequence and was recorded in the second lesson of the strongest academic track in Stätten. Owing to the technical constraints previously described, it must, however, be seen as an example of other uncollected pupil-initiated grammar sequences, as long as the conversation did not take place between a pupil and the teacher in front of the whole class (procedural reports filled in by researchers during classroom observation justify such an assumption). I will place the main emphasis on Matteo's eagerness to make sense of the

difference between modal alternatives *can*, *must* and *be able to,* as well as on the teacher's challenge to satisfy her pupil's request for grammar clarification. The activity is based on a worksheet where Matteo chooses the continuation of the sentence start *An au pair* from the three options *can*, *doesn't* and *must* + ten more verbs and logical continuations of the sentence. The correct solution to Matteo's sentence in (43) is *An au pair + can + go + to school to learn the language*. The basis of (43)'s metawork is a fictional sentence but I have previously stressed that truth conditions do not permit the anticipating of a certain development of discourse on the metalevel.

(43)

Matteo (TO GRELL, WHO APPROACHES HIM): sie? .. seit mä the au pair can go go to school oder must go to school?

Grell: ja I don't know .. is it necessary that they go to school or can they choose?

Matteo: aso ich ha gschribä can .. chönd wänns wänd

Grell: they don't have to are you sure? .. is it not part with their obligation to go to school?

Matteo: doch sie mönd eigetli id schuäl

Grell: okay they have to yes

Matteo: must aso?

Grell: yes (INCOMPREHENSIBLE WORD)

Matteo: **guät und was heisst be able to?**

Grell: the same as must oder -- (INCOMPREHENSIBLE, GRELL SHOWS STH IN MATTEO'S COURSE BOOK)

Matteo: aha an au pair doesn't be .. able to -- .. und das heisst etz de infinitiv .. das heisst das heisst etz mömmer doesn't be able to?

Grell: **it is can ..** can is not the infinitive

Matteo: aso can be able to?

Grell: **können können is two times the same word**

Matteo: aha dä mosi must be able?

Grell: try .. or doesn't

Matteo: doesn't?

Matteo opens the sequence by asking if *can* or *must* should be chosen to complete the sentence at hand. He thus requests an answer to the task of putting the correct sentence blocks in order, rather than an explicit explanation for either or both modal verbs. Nevertheless, by indirectly voicing insecurity with the difference between *can work* and *must work*, it is Matteo who establishes a focus-on-form metafloor. Her teacher does not give the answer yet (in this case *can* as an option the au pair has). Instead, within the grammar metaframe established, she asks a grammar comprehension question to elicit either possibility or obligation connected with *can* and *must*. Matteo tells the teacher that he believes the former to be more appropriate. Grell, in her phrase *they don't have to are you sure,* suggests that *must* should be chosen. Matteo, in *doch sie mönd eigetli id schuäl,* shows that he agrees with his teacher and the suggested answer *an au pair must go to school*.

However, Matteo continues the conversation with a question about the meaning of *be able to* (**in bold**). It is interesting to see that in all the three extracts (41)-(43), the pupils' initiation to a potential grammar metaframe is achieved through a clarification on the meaning of a word. Whereas I have shown that the teacher in (41) combines a grammar with a vocabulary input and in (42) he even manages to stay off the grammatical metaframe altogether, the teacher in (43) is somehow facing a more determined pupil in his attempt to understand the grammatical issue at hand. This can be seen in his reaction to the teacher's answer what *be able to* means (i.e. the teacher incorrectly suggests that *be able to* is the same as *must*). Matteo swiftly adapts the previously discussed *an au pair must go to school* and substitutes *must* with *be able to,* to produce the verb form *doesn't be able to*. It can be seen that, with his logical substitution of *must* with *be able to* and an (admittedly more) unexpected combination with *doesn't*, Matteo indeed challenges his teacher on the grammatical floor. Her reaction, i.e. her input that *it is can* (**in bold**), shows a very surprising turn and, arguably, the teacher's refusal to explain why Matteo's *doesn't be able to* is incorrect. She suggests that *can go to school*, a sentence that she herself questioned earlier in the sequence (i.e. *they don't have to are you sure*), is the correct form after all. Grell's attempt to shorten and simplify the grammar explanation expected from her fails, as Matteo does not accept *can go to school* as the correct solution. He in fact combines *can* and *be able to* in yet another possible verb form (i.e. *can be able to*). Grell's reaction (**in bold)** shows that she does not know how to resolve the problem or how to explain the grammar point successfully. With her translation of *can be able to* into *können können*, she tries to explain to Matteo that this combination is ungrammatical (which is in fact untrue). Matteo, still dissatisfied and determined to have the subject matter clarified on the

grammatical level, finally suggests *must be able to*. This is the stage when Grell gives up; neither her *try* nor her suggestion *doesn't,* fulfils any clarifying purpose. Grell marks the end of this conversation rather unambiguously by walking away and leaving Matteo alone with the unresolved grammar problem.

There are a number of findings in (43) that deserve summarising again. First of all, it is noteworthy that Matteo's grammar input is achieved through Swiss German exclusively, whereas Ms Grell predominantly remains within the target language. Secondly, I have shown that Matteo's request for grammar clarification is not characterised by a very clear request for an explanation of the modal verbs. In fact, he simply asks if his solution is correct at the beginning of (43) and what the meaning of *be able to* is later in the stretch. And yet, Matteo, unlike the pupils in (41) and (42), seems to go beyond the mere initiation of a grammar clarification through a focus on meaning first. He indeed asks grammar-specific questions (i.e. *doesn't be able to* / aso *can be able to* / *aha dä mosi must be able to*). The previous finding from (41) and (42), i.e. that the teacher remains in the position to determine the direction and depth of a pupil-initiated, potentially grammar-specific, metasequence, must at least be questioned when taking (43) into consideration. Even though it is the teacher, who in the end cuts the conversation short, thus refusing to elaborate further on grammar explanations, it is evident that Matteo's insistence on this grammar clarification is the driving force throughout the stretch of discourse. Considering this pupil's insistence on a certain grammar point and the ensuing difficulty for a teacher in coping with such unforeseen grammar clarification requests, I would like to stress that it may indeed be easier for a teacher to avoid such focus-on-form grammar metalevels and instead direct the conversation onto a more surface vocabulary level. On such a vocabulary-clarification metalevel, straightforward translations dominate the floor (as seen in (41), (42) and ultimately also (43) where Grell translates *can be able to* with *können können*). Finally, pupils' expectation of a certain struggle when requesting a particular grammar explanation from the teacher, as seen in (43), may explain why they tend not to do so in front of the whole class but, if at all, then when approaching the teacher individually or in a group-work context.

5.4.8 Focus on Form / Individual Findings

Having up to now compared and contrasted lesson extracts from different classes according to common denominators (i.e. shared linguistic criteria such as pronunciation work or reference to visual aids), I will refer to findings in individual classes in this last subchapter (i.e. extracts (44)-(47)). Extracts (44) and (45) are both taken from the strongest academic track in Alpegg and relate to the first lesson. The teacher bases classroom work on two reading/listening extracts of the soaps *Neighbours* and *Casualty* in the course book. He distributes a worksheet consisting of various exercises, such as asking pupils to list *subject*, *verb* and *object* of the sentences in the *Neighbours* text into three different columns. I will focus on this exercise in the two extracts shown below as such a focus on syntax has not been found in any other of the classes analysed (the *Neighbours* text that (44) and (45) are based on is printed in full on p 111 earlier in this analysis chapter).

In (44), the teacher leads the class through the first two tasks of labelling the verbs as well as the subjects, and does so by guiding his pupils with a gapped text on a power point slide. The text consists of complex syntactic sentences with relative clauses or with verb groups that do not follow the simple "subject, transitive verb group, direct object" pattern. For example, the first sentence is *Ramsay Street in Australia is the imaginary setting for one of the world's most successful soaps*. Therefore, I will show in extract (45) that particularly the labelling of the *object* column poses difficulties for the pupils. In considering this challenge, I will first analyse how the teacher in (44) introduces this syntactic exercise.

(44)
Schwaller: .. now we'll go on .. and three times one after the other you'll miss something .. you'll see the same text again **but you'll miss the verbs in the text** .. so if you look at the text again please you can look here or in the book text Ramsay Street .. look at the verbs and try to remember them please .. which verb is at which place ... and when you think okay I got it you close your book please .. (SCHWALLER GIVES PUPILS ABOUT 20 SECONDS TO STUDY THE VERBS) close your books please … **and now you take your sheets and in the middle column you have got the title verb .. you … put the verbs … Ramsay Street in Australia (CLEARS HIS VOICE TWICE) that's the first verb .. the imaginary setting for one of and so on** (SCHWALLER READS OUT THE GAPPED TEXT ON THE POWER POINT SLIDE, LONG SILENCE) ... check the forms there are some simple present forms because it is .. simple present .. the last form should be present continuous .. okay .. the last

form .. and in the middle you've got past forms .. so it's in the past .. in the middle .. please check ähm together with your neighbour .. what did you find … and try to fill the list with the .. missing words … okay .. in this text you can find the words (SCHWALLER SHOWS THE NEXT SLIDE WITH THE WHOLE TEXT) .. *is* .. and so on .. and the last one is *is making* the present continuous the last one *is making* .. and in the middle you've got past forms like *played she played* and *was* is in the past .. okay .. now we've got another problem (SCHWALLER SHOWS NEW GAPPED TEXT, THE SUBJECTS ARE MISSING) .. **we can't see the subjects any more can you fill in as much as you can in the subject column?** .. what is the name of the street at the beginning?.. you put the names or the nouns .. in this first column … if you have .. got the verb here *is* you have to put in .. what is .. so Ramsay Street is .. and so on. in every line

Schwaller does not give any detailed input regarding the verbs that will be missing on his slide and that he asks pupils to remember by taking a look at the full text (**in bold**). After asking them to close their books once they have been given time to memorise the verbs, he expects pupils to take the worksheet and fill the middle column with the verbs that are missing on the slide (**in bold**). In similar fashion, he continues the sequence and then shows pupils the next slide that lacks the subjects of the sentences. Again, he asks them to fill these gaps on the worksheet (**in bold**). The worksheet is so far thus solely comprised of a two-step task to fill in a subject, as well as verb column, requiring pupils to remember the full text. A closer focus on the syntactic elements per se is missing altogether. In other words, Mr Schwaller does not differentiate between e.g. the intensive verb *to be* in the first sentence *Ramsay Street in Australia is the imaginary setting for one of the world's most successful soap,* and the transitive verb *follow* in the second sentence *millions of people follow the lives of characters in Neighbours*. Arguably unnecessary when it comes to filling in the verb column successfully, it certainly influences the follow-up task of labelling what Schwaller refers to as *objects,* but which in the case of intensive verbs are subject predicatives instead. Before studying this continuation in (45) in detail, I would like to note that the teacher comments on some forms of the verbs that pupils have to supply for the worksheet. These comments, however, are rather circular, do not contribute to the overall syntactic focus and, at best, support pupils in their task of remembering the correct forms (e.g. *check the forms there are some simple present forms because it is .. simple present*).

In (45) below, Mr Schwaller comments on the most difficult part of the task, i.e. the identification of what he labelled *object* on the worksheet grid.

(45)
Schwaller: okay I can see that's not so easy for you .. let's try to find the rest the third column .. subject verb and object .. in brackets .. so you have for example .. *Ramsay Street* .. middle column *is* .. *the imaginary setting* .. so you put here on the first line objects the ima - imaginary setting .. here .. *the imaginary setting* ... on the second line .. *millions of people* .. is the subject .. *millions of people* .. try to write it .. as you can remember it .. in the middle you had the verb *follow* .. and object you put *the lives of characters … the lives of characters* .. so before we check the first column .. you try to put in to fill in the last one .. so you've always got ***who does what ..*** so try to put in the last column please .. here .. you can find it you can find the verbs here on the -- .. in the text .. yes for example the last line was she is making a career as a singer .. a career could be --? .. okay she's making *a* career .. ***who* is making *what*** .. so here you have to put *what* object

(LONG SILENCE, PUPILS WHISPER TO EACH OTHER WHILE DOING THE EXERCISE, INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Schwaller: okay .. so I repeat in the first line you have to put *Ramsay Street is the imaginary setting* .. the second line you have to put .. *millions of people* .. subject .. *follow* verb .. ***the lives* .. or *the lives of characters* .. *the lives* would be okay .. as an object** .. what did you put in the third line? .. line number 3? .. what did you put there? .. Sandrine
Sandrine: its most famous performer became a star in the soap
Schwaller: you have *is* here
Sandrine: aha=
Schwaller: **the most famous performer is Kylie Minogue .. yes** .. the next line .. *who became a star .. who became a star* .. or *Kylie Minogue became a star* .. it can be *who became a star* .. what have you got for the next line? .. Doris
Doris: Kylie Minogue became a star in the soap
Schwaller: ah= ... you have got .. yes instead of *who* it can take *Kylie Minogue* became and *a star .. a star* or *a star in the soap .. a star* is enough .. you just have to put *a star* .. that's enough

In his longish input, Schwaller instructs pupils to find the *objects* in the sentences, in which most pupils have already identified *subjects* and *verbs*. Referring to the full text displayed on the power point slide (and printed on p 111 in this chapter), he labels the first two sentences and emphasises that *who does what* or *who is making what* (**both bold**) must be asked when determining the three constituents of a sentence. It becomes apparent that, as in (44) above, he completely avoids developing the structure *who is what* or *who becomes what*, two sentence structures occurring in the text and consisting of a subject, an intensive verb and a subject predicative (rather than simply an object). In addition, he comments on the the object *the lives of characters* by arguing that only *the lives* would be an acceptable object, too (**in bold**). He does not say a word about the adjunct adverbial *in Neighbours,* as another prepositional element (the whole sentence being *millions of people follow the lives of characters in Neighbours*).

The next sentence, consisting of two intensive verbs as well as a relative clause structure, gives rise to even more discussion. For the original sentence, *its most famous performer is Kylie Minogue, who became a star in the soap,* Sandrine suggests *its most famous performer* for the subject, *became* for the verb and *a star in the soap* for the object (as mentioned before, actually being the subject predicative). She thus replaces the relative pronoun *who* with *its most famous performer* and focuses on the relative sentence for the labelling task. Schwaller, however, does not seem to appreciate Sandrine's additional step of relative pronoun substitution, insisting that the first part be labelled as well, and gives the answer himself (**in bold**). Carrying on with the relative clause, Schwaller explicitly refers to it and acknowledges that *who* can be replaced by *Kylie Minogue* as well, as Doris in fact has done. The teacher in his last turn in (45) emphasises once more that *who* can be replaced by *Kylie Minogue* as the subject of the sentence. At this stage, it is surprising that he fails to acknowledge Sandrine's previous attempt to produce exactly the same sentence, apart from also correctly replacing the same relative pronoun with *its most famous performer*.

It must be noted that syntactic-labelling grammar work hardly occurs, when I examine my whole set of data. Where it does, as in (44) and (45), recorded material suggests that it is reduced and simplified. The teacher neglects intensive verbs, which do not follow the simple subject, verb, object structure, and relative clauses, which may have the relative pronoun or the substituted agent of the main sentence as their clausal subject. Instead, he places the main emphasis on remembering the gapped and thus pre-established elements of sentences, rather

than finding these elements individually as the main task. In addition, the teacher's comments on tenses in (44), within this per se syntactic grammar exercise, are rather circular and do not contribute to the syntactic frame of the overall exercise.

Extract (46) is taken from the second lesson of the same classroom. The teacher, at the very beginning of the lesson, makes reference to the previous lesson by asking what names pupils remember from the *Neighbours* text in the course book (i.e. *Australia*, *Neighbours*, *Kylie Minogue*, etc). In this lesson extract, Schwaller gives a short feedback on pupils' successful production of the requested names and also refers to the syntactic exercise of the previous lesson. The grammar metaframe being opened is unique in my set of data and therefore discussed here, as another example of an individual form of metapragmatics, found in no other classroom.

(46)
Schwaller: okay these are the names .. can you remember another thing? .. we had three columns .. **in the middle I think there what was the easiest column in the middle .. verbs .. we had the verbs *is* .. *follow* and .. *is* .. and then we had four verbs it's** -- .. **yeah it's three verbs in the past .. can you write the forms of the past? .. verb forms .. what was that? .. verbs in the past .. twice the same and two others** … okay Peter what .. have you got?
Peter: ehm *was* ehm *played* and *became* and *played* two times
Schwaller: great
Px1 (WHISPERS): *became*
Schwaller: *became* yes .. *became* be careful .. can you give me a sentence with *became* in it? .. Sandrine
Sandrine: I became a teacher
Schwaller: **I became a teacher yes .. can I say I became a cake?** (SCHWALLER ASKS A PUPIL, Ps LAUGH)
Px2: no
Schwaller: no it's not possible otherwise I would have to go the oven and -- .. ja .. became is *werden* in German so I became a teacher

Schwaller again combines the syntax focus of the subject-verb-object exercise with a grammatical focus on tenses (see (44), too). Making some references to the actual verbs in the text, the teacher asks pupils to write them down on a piece of paper. Peter, being asked to share his findings with the class, is given a positive feedback by Schwaller for his correct answer. An unidentified pupil then whispers the verb *became*. Mr Schwaller takes it up again and initiates a focus-on-form, grammar-clarification input that is unique in my set of data. Introducing this input by warning pupils to be careful with the verb, he asks Sandrine to produce a sentence with the verb *become*. She does so successfully, whereupon the teacher, with his follow-up question, implicitly refers to the false German friend *bekommen* (**in bold**). Judging from their laughter and another unidentified pupil's correct answer to Schwaller's question if one can become a cake as well, it can be assumed that the class understands the difference between English *become* and German *bekommen*. Schwaller remains on his established humorous level, comments on the becoming of a cake again and concludes by translating *become* into German to surface the correct translation *werden* in front of the class.

(46) above is an example of metapragmatics that can be labelled as grammar metatalk, but equally carries a focus-on-meaning vocabulary dimension owing to the false-friend comparison of English *become* and German *bekommen*. As (46) developed from the syntax and tense metadiscussion linked to (44) and (45), I have nevertheless opted to present it here. What must be noted, however, are two observations. First of all, no other sequence has been found with a link to German based on a false friend. And secondly, the teacher initiates such comparison without having reason to believe that his pupils use the English verb *become* incorrectly.

The final extract in this part of the analysis refers to an instance of metapragmatics that I have tried to avoid as much as possible, from a researcher's point of view. Nevertheless, this is an instance where the teacher comments on a pupil's answer to a comprehension question and addresses the researcher (eye contact in this case). The short lesson extract is taken from the first lesson of the weakest academic track in Alpegg. The teacher corrects a comprehension exercise on the reading *The Great Fire of London* in the course book. The sentence to be labelled either true or false is *under five people died in the fire*, which in fact is a correct statement, as the text states that, surprisingly, only four people died in the blaze.

(47)

Matthias: under five ehm .. under five people died in the fire .. false .. there werä were .. died four people

Stocker: there died four people (SLOW) mmh .. (INCOMPREHENSIBLE WHISPERING, SOME LAUGHTER, STOCKER SHOWS INSECURITY)

Stocker: **it sounded stranged to me (**TOWARDS RESEARCHER)

R: but four is under five in fact

Stocker: yeah (INSECURE LAUGHTER) .. that's right .. okay

As can be seen above, Matthias does not seem to grasp the idea of *under five*, therefore labelling the correct statement about the classbook reading as false. Stocker shows hesitation as well and, in an attempt to seek support, comments on Matthias' statement by directing his comment towards the researcher (**in bold**). Stocker's grammatically incorrect comment (i.e. *stranged* instead of *strange*) may suggest that he indeed struggles with the situation of not knowing how to react to Matthias' contribution and, not to forget, being recorded in class. The researcher in his comment *but four is under five in fact* supports Stocker's feeling that something is strange by explaining that Matthias' labelling of the sentence as false is actually incorrect. Nevertheless, Stocker, who seemingly agrees with the researcher's statement in his final comment, either has not fully grasped the researcher's explanation or does not want to comment further on Matthias' statement for whatever other reason.

5.5 Summary of Findings

It must be stressed again that focus-on-form metapragmatics is by far the most salient category in my data. I will therefore link the other categories to this most frequently found metapragmatic category in an attempt to structure the system hierarchically in chapter 10. I have shown in this chapter that focus-on-form metapragmatics must be broken down into three subcategories, labelled the Zero Type, the Type A and the Type B. Both Zero Type and Type A have not been considered metapragmatic, as in the former, grammar mistakes remain uncorrected, and in the latter, "only" corrections take place. It is, however, merely in the identified Type-B metapragmatic category on form where the teacher, either triggered by a pupil's mistake, or as an input to a specific grammar issue, moves to a metapragmatic level and explicitly addresses a grammar point in class. I have also pointed out that most explicit metapragmatic frames are established by the teachers. They decide on a moment-by-moment basis which grammar mistakes or topics should be taken up and discussed (Type-B metapragmatics), which ones do not merit any attention (Zero-Type, non-correction format), and which ones are simply corrected without any metapragmatic input or discussion (Type-A grammar correction). Without asking teachers to comment on their choices of grammar mistakes/topics taken up in post-observation meetings, it is important to note that the overall absence of either explicit Type-B metapragmatics on form, or Type-A grammar correction, cannot per se be interpreted as intentional by the teachers. In other words, Zero-Type cases of grammar mistakes being totally uncorrected, may in fact also be grammar mistakes that have slipped the corrective rigour of a teacher.

With regard to the Zero type and Type A, the following findings must be emphasised again before there is any more extensive focus on the summary of the Type-B metapragmatic category. Neither for the Zero-Type nor the Type-A subcategory have recurring clusters been identified, either when comparing Alpegg with Stätten, or different academic tracks in Stätten or Alpegg. Nevertheless, the following can be said about the Zero-Type subcategory. In most of the extracts discussed, the total absence of grammar correction can be explained by the fact that the grammatical focus is on a grammar issue outside the uncorrected grammar mistake. Additionally, I have also analysed three extracts where grammar mistakes are left uncorrected in a lesson sequence that the teacher explicitly centres on vocabulary practice. Finally, however, there have been extracts as well where the teacher does not correct a grammar mistake produced by a pupil, despite the fact that it is within the grammar focus of the sequence. I have argued that an explanation for this behaviour might be the withholding of an

instant feedback in order to comment on recurring grammar mistakes at some later stage (from a teacher's point of view). As for Type-A grammar correction, a number of teachers' techniques have been identified. Rather than going into explicit Type-B, focus-on-form metapragmatics, a teacher may correct a pupil's mistake by taking the floor directly after the pupil has produced the mistake. Alternatively, teachers have also been found to truncate the correct answer and return the floor to pupils (often to the pupil who has actually made the mistake). Additionally, a teacher may ask a pupil to repeat a sentence, therefore indicating indirectly and without explicit Type-B metapragmatics that a mistake has occurred. Having mentioned above that no recurring clusters have been identified in the set of data analysed, I nevertheless would like to refer to one classroom in particular. It is only in the weakest academic track in Alpegg that Type-A grammar correction hardly occurs. I have argued that, in combination with the finding that the teacher in this classroom has the poorest language skills of all the teachers observed, the level of English of the teachers determines their willingness to correct a mistake or even their ability to identify them in class.

Regarding explicit Type-B metapragmatics, I have focused on various factors that have been identified by and large across the whole set of data. First of all, it has been interesting to observe that no pronunciation metatalk has been found in the C-track classrooms of both of Stätten and Alpegg. It would be too simplistic to deduce that this is due to an absence of pupils' pronunciation mistakes. Rather, data has shown that the teacher in Stätten focuses very closely on tenses and does not consider pronunciation a sufficiently important grammar topic to be dealt with explicitly. As for the corresponding C track in Alpegg, I have referred above to the teacher as being the one with the lowest level of English. Data has revealed that he himself mispronounces words regularly and arguably does not feel well-equipped to make pronunciation an explicit topic of metapragmatic negotiation in his classroom. In the A-track classroom, the teacher in Stätten has been found to address pronunciation explicitly when making it the grammatical focus of attention. Also, she has shown metapragmatic flexibility, thus addressing a pupil's pronunciation mistake even if it occurs within a grammatical focus on modal verbs. By way of contrast, the teacher in Alpegg takes a totally different approach to pronunciation metapragmatics. He anticipates potentially difficult words in terms of pronunciation and asks pupils individually to pronounce the words, or the class as a whole to repeat the words after him. In the B-track classroom of Stätten, another aspect of pronunciation metapragmatics has been identified. The teacher only makes pronunciation an explicit metapragmatic topic if the pupils' mistakes are based on a written source, i.e. if pupils

mispronounce words when reading from the coursebook or a worksheet. Finally, it is the teacher in the corresponding B track in Alpegg who establishes the most complex pronunciation metafloor in all the classrooms observed. One extract has shown that she may remain deliberately vague about the pronunciation mistake that has occurred (i.e. *what is that*), thus requesting pupils to identify the nature of the grammar mistake themselves. In addition, it is the same teacher who takes pronunciation metapragmatics a step further, establishing a metapragmatic floor on sentence intonation in one classroom sequence as well.

The above-mentioned vagueness regarding focus-on-form metarpragmatics has been discussed and analysed on the basis of a few additional extracts in my set of data. Only found in the B track of both sites, they have shown that certain teachers' utterances may indeed be interpreted as either metapragmatic on grammatical form, or input on the propositional content level of the lesson. In practice, the teacher with phrases such as *is this correct* or *something is not quite right* may refer to either content or grammar. Not being able to determine if such potential ambiguity is intended by the teachers, I have shown that they certainly control the development of the discussions to ensure that either content or grammar be addressed to their satisfaction. It must therefore be noted again that certain metapragmatic frames are co-constructed by pupils as well, in their reactions to potentially ambiguous comments by teachers.

In addition, I have also analysed four extracts where teachers make use of visual material, such as a grammar sample sentence on the blackboard or a grammar explanation box in the course book, to support the metapragmatic input on a grammar topic. This allows a teacher to support a metapragmatic frame with a minimum of explicit verbal input which, without such visual reference, would remain very vague. In other words, a phrase such as *have a look here* with reference to a short explanation of the correct form of a tense on the blackboard may be far more effective than explaining the grammatical issue again in front of the whole class. Nevertheless, the context makes it clear that such exophoric reference must be understood as an input on the metapragmatic level of grammar form.

Four extracts have also been discussed regarding metapragmatic negotiation on tenses. I have pointed out that the total lack of metapragmatics on tenses is challenging to explain in some of the classrooms. Whereas the absence of such metatalk in both A-track classes in Alpegg and Stätten may be due to the fact that the overall grammatical focus is on different

grammatical topics, the B-track classroom in Stätten shows no metapragmatic negotiation on tenses despite the overall grammatical focus on the past simple in both observed lessons. I have argued that the teacher in this classroom, as far as input on tenses is concerned, chooses Type-A grammar correction rather than explicit metapragmatic negotiation when responding to pupils' mistakes on tenses. The extracts discussed have also revealed that pupils may respond to a metapragmatic input by the teacher on tenses (i.e. *what do you think about the word started .. what could it be*) on the metapragmatic level of meaning (by translating the word and giving the answer *startete*). This suggests that, with regard to metapragmatic negotiation on tenses, a translation of a verb tense may cut short a potentially metapragmatic discussion on the language form (often observed in the C-track classroom of Alpegg). Finally, I have also pointed out that there is only one classroom in my set of six (i.e. the B track in Alpegg), where the teacher frequently establishes a metaframe on tenses that goes beyond the form of the tense and includes the usage as well.

Data has also shown that metapragmatics on form in the two C-track classrooms often take place in Standard German or Swiss German. In Alpegg, such metapragmatic negotiation is frequently interspersed with word-by-word translations of the teacher's input. In other words, the teacher, by and large, only addresses his class metapragmatically on grammar when making use of a non-target language code. In the previous paragraph, I pointed out that it is also in the same C-track classroom of Alpegg, where metapragmatic negotiation on a given grammar topic frequently develops into a focus-on-meaning sequence, with pupils and the teacher simply translating English words and phrases. In the C-track classroom of Stätten, the teacher also uses Standard German extensively but, compared to Alpegg, shows more complexity in his metapragmatic input on language forms. The data analysed has shown that he occasionally makes similarities and differences between English and Standard German an explicit focus of attention in an attempt to simplify pupils' understanding of the English grammar.

In the penultimate subchapter, I have pointed out that pupils in my set of data very rarely claim the floor actively themselves to request a metapragmatic explanation about any given grammar topic. When they do so, two extracts have shown that they mainly address a grammar topic through a meaning metafloor. In other words, rather than asking specifically about the form *wrote*, for example, they tend rather to use the formulaic focus-on-meaning phrase *what's the meaning of wrote,* or even ask the equivalent question in Standard German (i.e. *was heisst wrote*). As a result, pupil-initiated explicit focus on grammar hardly occurs throughout my set of data analysed.

Finally, I have also referred to a handful of metapragmatic discussions that are mostly taken from one classroom and cannot be linked to any other class. In two cases, the teacher in the strongest academic track in Alpegg establishes a metafloor on syntax. I have shown that this rare focus-on-language structure is rather reduced and simplified. The teacher neglects any intensive verbs that do not follow the subject-verb-object structure, and does not make relative clauses with the relative pronoun as the subject of the clause a metapragmatic topic at all (even though such input would be appropriate as pupils refer to relative clauses explicitly). Instead, the main emphasis is placed on remembering the pre-established elements of sentences, highlighted through gaps in a text. In the same classroom, the teacher at some other stage combines focus-on-form with focus-on-meaning metapragmatics, based on a false-friend comparison of English *become* and German *bekommen.* The false-friend input is unique in my set of data and also noteworthy in that the teacher initiates such metafloor without being triggered by a pupil using *become* incorrectly.

Chapter 6: Focus-on-Meaning Metapragmatics
what's the meaning of escape?

6.1 Broad Introduction to Subcategories

In analysing the metapragmatic category labelled focus on meaning as instances where teachers and pupils explicitly address the meaning of words (see chapter 4, i.e. 4.2.3, for the general introduction), I would like to make a broad distinction at the very beginning. In the data presented, the majority of focus-on-meaning sequences are found in lesson units that are generally dealing with designated grammatical topics. In other words, teachers' and pupils' efforts to clarify the meaning of certain words are embedded in interactions that do not have an explicit vocabulary agenda. It must be noted, however, that there are a handful of instances where the teachers introduce their classes to explicitly meaning-focused lesson sequences. In the following chapter, the above-mentioned focus-on-meaning sequences embedded in an overall grammar lesson are given the label "focus on meaning sub" (i.e. subordinated to overall grammar), whereas metapragmatic meaning sequences announced and initiated by teachers in the lessons as such are henceforth referred to as "focus on meaning super" (i.e. superordinated to overall grammar). These overall labels reveal a certain relation to the previously described focus-on-form category. Suffice it to say at this stage that the analysis of the different metapragmatic categories will be summarised into a hierarchical structure in chapter 10.

The focus-on-meaning-super category, being much less frequent, will be studied first (see 6.2). In the second part, the main analytical emphasis will be placed on focus-on-meaning-sub sequences (see 6.3). Additionally, research data has revealed that in both groups there are mainly two approaches to clarifying vocabulary. The discussion may develop on the basis of a given word in English. The example given for a focus-on-meaning metapragmatic sequence in chapter 4 belongs to this subtype. In the sample extract (C1) on p 56, from lines 13-17, the teacher checks up on the meaning of the word *become*. As there is a mapping of the word to its corresponding meaning, it will be referred to as "word-to-meaning mapping". Given that the lessons at hand for this analysis are designated EFL lessons (i.e. English as a foreign language), the efforts made by the teachers to clarify certain English words or the pupils' interest in enquiring about the meaning of a given word in English, are calculated to represent the largest group within the overall category focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. I will also

show that pupils may equally initiate such "word-to-meaning mapping" by addressing the teacher or each other. However, they predominantly avoid the target language English. The opposite approach for metapragmatic focus on meaning, i.e. "meaning-to-word mapping", will also be analysed. This subtype may be either initiated by the teacher or by the pupils. The data presented will reveal that if pupils request a "meaning-to-word mapping", they almost exclusively do so in German or Swiss German (for most pupils their L1). An example would be a pupil's request such as *was heisst Wälschland* (i.e. 'what's the word for Wälschland'). The teacher may then provide the target word in English (i.e. *the French-speaking part of Switzerland*).

In the following subchapter 6.2 (i.e. focus-on-meaning sequences as designated vocabulary units), extracts for both A-track classes in Alpegg and Stätten will be analysed for meaning-to-word mapping (extract (1) from Alpegg and extracts (2)-(4) from Stätten). In addition, word-to-meaning-mapping metapragmatics will be studied and exemplified with extracts (5) and (6), referring to the A-track and B-track classes in Alpegg. As mentioned above, there are only a few lesson sequences where the vocabulary aspect is defined as the main focus of the lesson. Extracts (1)-(6) thus show such instances found in the data collected in Stätten and Alpegg. Owing to the limited number of lesson sequences that fall within this subcategory, comparisons between the rural site in Alpegg and the urban site in Stätten or between the different academic tracks (as will be done for 6.3) cannot be elaborated on extensively.

6.2 Focus on Meaning Super

6.2.1 Meaning-to-Word Mapping

Extract (1) below is taken from the second lesson of the strongest academic track in Alpegg and shows how the teacher introduces his class to an explicit vocabulary exercise in the second half of the lesson. On the basis of a listening to a soap opera in the course book, the teacher refers to *red verbs* **(in bold)**, which actually do not only comprise *verbs* but words in general that are highlighted in a short text about the TV programme *Casualty*.

(1)

Schwaller: when you've done this .. you try to find what is written there you try to find the best description for the verbs .. **the red verbs** .. it's exercise number 5 .. what is life? .. is life a= strong feelings of attraction? .. or is life the way of being on this planet? .. or is life not feeling well? .. what is life? .. so you should be .. able to put one verb on each line … every word only once … try to find -- .. it's .. quite complicated but I think you .. can do quite a lot

(Ps WORK INDIVIDUALLY FOR 30 SECONDS)

Schwaller: I can see some of you have already .. six seven .. that's good (2 MINUTES OF QUIET Ps WORK)

Schwaller: let's try to find the rest together .. or all of it together .. strong feelings of attraction? .. which is the word for that? .. which one did you take? .. yes

Px: loves

Schwaller: love .. yes .. love or loves .. that's a strong feeling of attraction you really love someone it's a strong feeling .. for somebody .. or for something

Extract (1) shows that there are certain ways in which the teacher requests pupils to give their full attention to vocabulary practice. In the example given, he has created a vocabulary exercise himself that provides pupils with English definitions for words that have appeared in a listening extract and that are highlighted within the rest of the tapescript on a power point slide. This is a very closed type of exercise, where the given meanings in English must be linked to a set of words that are also displayed to pupils. This type of meaning-to-word mapping therefore does not at all trigger long metapragmatic comments. Instead, the very teacher-guided metatalk only requires pupils to provide the English words for the definitions on the task sheet.

The lack of pupils' production when mapping a given meaning or explanation of a word to the English word itself can be avoided if pupils have to provide the explanations themselves for other pupils to guess the words described. The next three extracts show such an exercise type with different strategies applied by pupils who provide the explanations, i.e. the meanings, which must be mapped to corresponding words.

Extracts (2)-(4) are taken from the first lesson of the strongest academic track in Stätten. After splitting the class up into two groups (i.e. A and B), Ms Grell, in extract (2) below, gives the instructions in the explicitly vocabulary-focused introduction.

(2)

Grell: okay .. so .. group B … the blackboard side will get .. a word .. and group B I know you're not so many .. you have to find out the word that I show them .. *they* have to give a lot of explanation .. about this word .. and they're not allowed to *say* the word .. so you can give explanation *around* the word .. but not the word exactly .. **for example .. if I have -- .. I show them the word garden .. you don't know that I show them the garden .. then they make sentences about gardens .. so maybe .. there are a lot of plants or .. you can see lovely flowers .. or *around* the house there are a lot of them .. things like that** and the other group has to guess it .. and I will count the time … and will note it .. and then we change .. and then group A got .. the word so we'll do it you have three chances .. to find out the word .. you got it? .. questions? .. okay we try it .. so for group A .. just A .. that mean this side .. I will show the first word (SHOWS THE WORD ON A CARD)

The passage **in bold** depicts the teacher's metapragmatic focus-on-meaning input as an example of how she expects pupils in one group to provide the meanings, i.e. English explanations, for words that another group has to guess. It becomes evident that the task itself requires pupils to produce much more than in extract (1), as pupils have to give definitions for certain words themselves, rather than just matching definitions (i.e. meanings) to words. How this set-up triggers pupils' production of metapragmatic focus-on-meaning talk with one another and what strategies they develop in order to explain words to each other, will be addressed with extracts (3) and (4) below, both taken from the same overall lesson sequence.

(3)

Grell: good so I have […] a word for B .. on this side .. B on this side

Nico: [was heisst das?]

Nico: wer isch B? (B PRONOUNCED IN ENGLISH)

Grell: B? … the others

Matteo: und B muäs au antwortä?

Grell: and B on this side have to find out

Matteo: okay

Grell: okay Nico

Nico: **mmh I'm … aso .. my t t tm is Spain .. she live … s (LAUGHS) .. in Switzerland**

Grell: if you have a solution Matteo just say it (MATTEO RAISES HIS HAND)

Matteo: ehm the country (PRONOUNCED /KaʊNTRI/)

Nico: **in Switzerland it gibs many of them**

(SOME PUPILS WHISPER)

Grell: hmm? .. other explanations? .. yes

Isabel: **you are Swiss this is your --?**

Jonida: nationality

Grell: right .. nationality .. good

In (3) above, two pupils explain the word *nationality* to members of the other group. Nico takes the lead first (**in bold**). Rather than using the adjective *Spanish* to hint at the target word *nationality*, he uses *Spain* and adds a somehow unrelated second part to his explanation (i.e. *she lives in Switzerland*). Thus, Matteo's answer *country* must be seen as a good reply to Nico's unclear explanation of the word. After a second unsuccessful attempt by Nico to explain the word by giving a whole sentence rather than a truncated phrase with a gap to fill (**in bold, too**), Isabel takes the floor. Interestingly, she returns to Nico's initial strategy of truncation and succeeds in eliciting the correct response from Jonida.

This short sequence thus shows that, within a designated focus-on-meaning sequence, pupils develop different strategies on how to map the meaning to a target word. It is especially the organisation of the sequence as group work competition, where two groups explain words to each other, that permits pupils to engage in metapragmatic talk on vocabulary without a teacher taking the lead. The fact that a considerable amount of time is spent on pupils' questions and the teacher's answers about the organisation of this vocabulary sequence (see

first part of extract (3)), may additionally suggest that such meaning-to-word-mapping group activities are not a well-known format in this class.

Extract (4) is the last sequence given for this class and shows another strategy applied when explaining the target word *bath*.

(4)

Frederik: **you can ähm you can wash .. you can wash it .. ähm .. you there (RAISES HIS HAND)**
Grell: mmh
Michele: bathroom
Nico: **aso it have a persons whose doesn't go in to the t t tm (LAUGHS)**
Matteo: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE, MAY MENTION "DUSCH")
Michele: a=m .. shower (RAISES HIS HAND)
Grell: other explanations .. I mean they nearly got it .. but not yet (POINTS TO NICO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND) ja
Nico: **in this room .. it have a lot of water**
Michele: toilet (WITH HAND UP) .. a water closet
Nico: **you can ähm wash you there**
Matteo: bathroom (RAISES HIS HAND)
Jonida (TO MATTEO): hey du bisch *B*
Lindita: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) hät er vorhär gseit
Jonida: sie dörfed au B ratä?
Grell (POINTS TO NICO, WHO RAISES HIS HAND): ja
Nico: **this t t tm without room**
Michele: ähm bath (RAISES HIS HAND)
Grell: yes it's the bath .. right (WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD)

It is Frederik and especially Nico again who provide explanations for the target word *bath*. Frederik (**in bold**) successfully elicits the word *bathroom*. Nico takes over and, by using phrase truncation again, triggers the English word *shower* (**in bold**). After giving another two explanations (**in bold**), Nico is given the answer *bathroom*. However, it is particularly noteworthy that he, unlike Frederik earlier, adds another metapragmatic comment based on the answer *bathroom* (**in bold, too**). As a result, he elicits the correct word *bath*. He does so

by keeping his approach of truncating the target word, and explains that a part of the word must be left out. However, there is an error in Nico's reasoning, which does not interfere with his overall success in triggering the correct word. If *t t tm* is the label for the target word *bath* as in his first explanation in this extract, one cannot leave out *room* but in fact would have to work out the answer using Matteo's answer as a starting point.

All in all, extracts (1)-(4) show that, depending on the setting up of lesson sequences in designated focus-on-meaning phases, the amount of metapragmatic negotiation varies considerably. Whereas in (1) the activity is very guided in terms of explanations of words and target words laid out for pupils in written form, (2)-(4) show a lesson part where there is a lack of such prefabricated explanations for the target words and where the overall organisation forces pupils to communicate with each other. Thus, much more metapragmatic focus-on-meaning talk ensues and pupils even develop their own strategies on how to explain target words best.

6.2.2 Word-to-Meaning Mapping

As mentioned in 6.1, two extracts have been identified in the data at hand that belong to metapragmatics on meaning in designated vocabulary sequences with a word-to-meaning approach. Extracts (5) and (6) will be described and analysed below.

Extract (5) is a short sequence that follows extract (1) in the strongest academic track in Alpegg. As can be seen in extract (1) described above, the teacher corrects the exercise by reading out the definitions such as *strong feelings of attraction* and thus eliciting the correct target words, in this case *love*. In extract (5), a pupil (unidentified as not in camera frame) comments on the matching pair *a person who is receiving medical care* and the equivalent target word *patient* once the teacher has finished correcting the exercise.

(5)

Px: **patient is a -- .. also ehm aso you can also say patient to --**

Schwaller: patients

Px: **(INCOMPREHENSIBLE) aso we had patient with the patient**

Schwaller: ja .. that's because a patient has to be patient to get .. really well again .. if you're lying in your bed last Friday for example I was lying in my bed in the morning and I thought okay if I would go if if I could go to school that would be much better for me for you perhaps not (LAUGHS) but I had to be patient I had to stay in bed the whole day I was awoke about three hours and the rest of the day I was sleeping I had to be patient and if you can sleep it's no problem but if you can't sleep any more it's= getting .. a bigger and bigger problem of course .. right

The effort of Px in extract (5) is exceptional for one particular reason. Unless being very carefully guided through the setting up of an exercise by the teacher (i.e. as in this exercise, matching given English definitions to corresponding English words), pupils in the set of data analysed never use the target language English for any metapragmatic input on meaning (either word-to-meaning or meaning-to-word mapping). Px, however, does precisely this and, with his input *patient is a -- .. also ehm aso you can also say patient to --* and *aso we had patient with the patient,* successfully claims the metapragmatic floor on meaning. He suggests that *patient* can also be an adjective. In so doing, he triggers Mr Schwaller's metapragmatic input on the link between patient as a noun and patient as an adjective. Given that Px's effort in (5) is an exception in my set of data, it shows that, even in explicitly designated focus-on-meaning sequences, it is very rare to find pupils who apply the target language English for genuine questions about vocabulary.

In the lesson sequence from which extract (6) is taken, pupils (in the B-track classroom in Alpegg) work in small groups and put together a word list for an assigned play that they will perform in front of the class at some later stage. Alex, Daniela and Sibylle communicate with each other while their teacher monitors their performance.

(6)

Alex: entscheiden

Daniela: hä?

Alex: [entscheiden]

Sibylle: [entscheide] oder entscheide

Daniela: hä? (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Alex: schriib eifach

Daniela: **ja schri=bsch eifach .. wa heisst da? (ASKS MOSER)**

Moser: Daniela .. may I ask you again to speak English?

Daniela: ja but I don't know what this [mean]

Moser: [yea] but you know how to s - .. to ask in English [don't you?]

Daniela: [jo]

Daniela: what does -- (BEING INTERRUPTED BY MOSER)

Moser: decided

Daniela: ja= .. entschiede .. entschiede .. was söli mit entschiede aafangä I .. [I don't know] what entschiede means

Alex: [entschieden]

Moser: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE WORD) how about taking a dictionary and check the word?

Daniela: ja=

Moser: yes

Daniela: if someone from here knows then can -- (BEING INTERRUPTED BY MOSER)

Moser: but they don't

Extract (6) contrasts with extract (5) as in this word-to-meaning sequence pupils' first choice of language is Swiss German, either when talking to each other or when explicitly asking the teacher for the meaning of a word. Alex, Sibylle and Daniela are trying to find a translation of the English word *decided,* and in so doing, use their first language Swiss German with each other. Daniela, who is the note-taker of the group, asks her teacher questions in Swiss German too (**in bold**) and is reminded that she should use the target language English when asking a question.

As Extract (6) could be analysed according to the interplay of different metapragmatic categories, too (i.e. focus-on-meaning initiation by a pupil and norm of interaction expressed by the teacher), I would like to emphasise that the main focus here lies on the pupils' language choice when engaging in metapragmatic negotiation with each other or with the teacher. The data suggests that, unless the activity itself guides pupils in their use of English as the target language (extract (1) with definitions of words given or extracts (2)-(4), where the teacher requests pupils to explain certain words in English to each other), pupils rarely use English when engaging in metapragmatic talk on meaning with each other or the teacher. Extract (6) must therefore be seen as the norm compared to extract (5). It will be shown in 6.3 that this is also the case in lesson sequences where the overall focus does not lie on predetermined vocabulary issues. This suggests that the teachers' designation of activities as explicitly vocabulary-oriented has no influence on pupils' language choice when requesting the clarification of certain words or when responding to vocabulary questions initiated by the teacher.

6.3 Focus on Meaning Sub

6.3.1 Word-to-Meaning Mapping

In this subchapter, meaning extracts in non-designated vocabulary sequences will be analysed. I will first address word-to-meaning mapping as it is more frequent than meaning-to-word mapping in my set of data. I will present nineteen extracts in all that cluster around certain groups and which are presented one by one, starting with the most dominant group first. Extracts (7)-(18) all deal with word-to-meaning mapping initiated by the teachers as vocabulary checks. In extracts (19)-(22), pupils request the clarification of certain words themselves. In addition, extracts (23) and (24) show examples where pupils discuss the meanings of certain words without the teachers becoming involved. And finally, extract (25) refers to an instance where the teacher comments on the meaning of a word to the class as a whole, but without involving pupils in the interaction.

Extracts (7)-(11) are taken from the rural site in Alpegg, whereas (12)-(18) belong to the classes observed in Stätten. In the summary following the presented lesson sequences grouped as vocabulary checking, I will comment on similarities and differences between the two sites and the academic tracks.

Extracts (7) and (8) are both taken from the strongest academic track in Alpegg. They were recorded in the second lesson and show the teacher's effort to introduce his pupils to an information gap activity about Maria Friedman, starring in the soap *Casualty*. Relevant passages are again presented **in bold**.

(7)
Schwaller: right .. now we're looking at two characters of this soap .. of the hospital life and death .. you'll get .. a lady and a man .. and .. just look at it first … it's coming (WORKS ON POWER POINT) … one of them is Kwame Kwei-Armah he plays Finlay Newton .. that's this man .. and the other one is called Maria Friedman .. she plays Trish Baynes and she looks like that (AGAIN PRODUCES A SLIDE ON POWER POINT) … if you look at Maria Friedman .. that's what she looks like .. and that's= what I found about her (PRODUCES ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON POWER POINT) .. she was born on the nineteenth of March in nineteen sixty .. she was born in Switzerland .. she= has got a family of course her mother is called Claire her mother is a concert pianist and her father Leonard is a Russian Jew .. **what is a Jew? .. a Russian Jew? .. a Jew? .. the third class of our school went to= went to= a KZ in= (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) when we were .. about three weeks ago I think .. and in the KZ they were burning Jews so Jews are --?**
Px: **Juden**
Schwaller: **Juden yes**

Mr Schwaller introduces the two characters in the soap *Casualty* by showing two pictures on a power point slide. He then presents information about the woman and finally checks up on the meaning of the English word *Jew* in the passage **in bold** above. In this case, Mr Schwaller, in his vocabulary check, applies a number of techniques. He first asks the open question, i.e. *what is a Jew*. He then provides additional information by creating a context taken from pupils' real world experience and uses the word *Jew* within that context. Finally, he truncates his last phrase, i.e. *so Jews are* --, thus not explicitly requesting a translation but indeed making it obvious that this is what he expects pupils to do. An unidentified pupil complies and successfully provides the correct translation.

This combination that culminates in the implicit request for a translation contrasts with the very same teacher's vocabulary check in extract (8), presented below.

(8)
Schwaller: she was a secretary .. a receptionist .. an assistant manager of a toy (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) .. and .. a year she was a backing singer (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) **a backing singer? .. Peter**
Peter: **in the background aso ehm by aso (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) ja= --**
Schwaller: **in the background singing (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) .. have you got a back- a backing singer in [your=] group?**
Peter: **[yes] yes**
Schwaller: who's the backing singer?
Peter: the the twice ehm .. ehm nei .. no ehm dä ehm guitar man with the guitar (LAUGHS)
Schwaller: and he's called --?
Peter: ehm David (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Schwaller: okay

Schwaller lists a number of jobs that Maria Friedman had, of which he identifies *backing singer* as needing to be clarified. Compared to extract (7), however, he only repeats the compound word and names a pupil. Peter successfully explains that a backing singer actually sings *in the background*. Schwaller then creates a context on the basis of Peter's experienced past and asks if he has backing singers in his band too. Extract (8) thus shows that a more open request for the meaning clarification of a certain word may trigger a longer pupil's response than just a word-by-word translation. It can be assumed that it is no coincidence that the teacher asks Peter to explain the word as he knows that the pupil plays in a band. Extracts (7) and (8) have so far revealed vocabulary checks at different stages on a continuum from explicit requests for a translation to completely open questions about the meaning of a word. They have also shown that the teacher may relate to the pupils' real-world experiences in order to improve their understanding of a target word in English.

Extract (9) is the only example presented for the B track in Alpegg. It shows an additional approach to checking vocabulary that I have only observed in this class. The grammar topic is the past continuous and the teacher, Ms Moser, collects responses from pupils about what a group of teenagers *were doing,* based on a dialogue in the course book. In the course book

exercise, pupils are given sentences from the dialogue they have listened to in the previous lesson and a verb in brackets they need to use in order to fill the verb gap of each sentence.

(9)
Moser: absolutely brilliant and we need another girl or another boy who would tell us the next sentence .. who wants to do that? .. Roger maybe? .. point is the verb
Roger: Greg [..] --
Moser: [yes] yes go on
Roger: Greg was pointing at the London Eye
Moser: excellent .. very good **was pointing can you show what that means? .. was pointing .. what do you think? Alex do you have an idea?**
Alex: **zeigen**
Moser: **can you do it what .. Greg was doing? .. *ah exactly*** (COMMENTS ON ALEX, WHO SHOWS IT) was pointing mmh was pointing at the London Eye

Roger produces the correct sentence *Greg was pointing at the London Eye*. Ms Moser compliments Roger on the grammatically correct sentence and initiates a vocabulary check by asking Alex to show what *was pointing* means (**in bold**). Alex provides the correct translation first and is asked by Moser again to actually demonstrate what Greg was doing (**both bold**).

Extract (9) is relevant for two reasons. First of all, it indicates that a teacher-initiated vocabulary check may also be set up as a teacher's request for the pupil to show visually that he/she has understood the meaning of a word. And secondly, even without being asked to translate the word *point*, Alex interprets it as the appropriate answer to the vocabulary clarification question. This is worth noting for the B track in Alpegg in particular as the teacher, more than in any other class in the overall data, insists on pupils using the target language English as much as possible.

Extracts (10) and (11) are two examples that show how the teacher in the lowest academic track in Alpegg ensures that pupils understand the meaning of certain words in English. Extract (10) is taken from the first lesson and refers to an opening activity related to the new course book topic of *The Great Fire of London*. With some words given in a box, pupils are asked to describe a picture of the great fire. The teacher checks on the meaning of the words that pupils are expected to use when describing the scene.

(10)

Stocker: okay .. now .. number one opener .. look at the picture use the words to describe what you can *see* .. I want you to describe .. the picture .. and use the words here boat a bridge buildings .. burn a church escape flames a river smoke .. **do you know the words?** ... **Adrian**

Adrian: **ähm what's the meaning of ähm escape?** (PRONOUNCES /ESKæP/)

Stocker: **escape?** (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Adrian: **escape [ja]** (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Stocker: **[ja] .. flucht**

Adrian: **a=h**

Odette: **fluch?**

Stocker: **flucht .. oder flüchten …** what's boats? .. Remo

Remo: ähm boote

Stocker: yes

Stocker introduces the above-shown vocabulary check sequence by asking a very open question (**in bold**) and handing over to Adrian. The pupil produces the formulaic *what's the meaning of + word* structure, but mispronouncing the word *escape*. After correcting Adrian's pronunciation by repeating the word, Mr Stocker provides a German translation. Whereas Adrian expresses understanding, Odette's question shows that she must have misunderstood her teacher acoustically. Stocker repeats the translation and adds the possible translation as a verb too. The final two lines in (10) above are printed to show that this clarification sequence continues in very similar fashion, i.e. the only variation being pupils' choice of either *what's the meaning of +word* or *what's +word* when asking the clarification question.

Extract (10) differs from the previous extracts for word-to-meaning clarification as the teacher check is somehow inverted. In other words, the teacher, after initiating the check himself, gives pupils the floor to ask vocabulary questions. A reason could be that when doing so, pupils at least produce the vocabulary questions (although formulaic) in English and the teacher can then choose to either translate the word into German or give an explanation in English. It must be noted, however, that no instance has been found where Mr Stocker explains a word in English.

Extract (11), from the first lesson of the lowest academic track in Alpegg too, is taken from the introductory sequence before the teacher turns to the new topic of *The Great Fire of London*. Stocker checks pupils' homework of writing down sentences referring to a current picture (e.g. *today there are trees*) and to a picture of the past (e.g. *a hundred years ago .. there weren't any trees*).

(11)
Stocker: **what's the meaning of there are cars? .. or there aren't cars?** .. **the meaning of -- .. in German .. yes** (TO MIRJAM, WHO RAISES HER HAND)
Mirjam: es hat es hat keine .. autos
Stocker: yes .. und es sollte heissen?
Mirjam: es hatte keine autos
Stocker: that's right .. okay

Extract (11) shows Stocker's attempt to clarify the meaning of the phrase *there aren't cars*. Grammatically speaking, the sentence that a pupil previously suggested should include the past tense *weren't,* referring to the old picture (apart from being complemented by the quantifier *any* that the teacher neglects altogether). This extract shows the only instance found for word-to-meaning teaching in Alpegg where the teacher explicitly requests a translation into German.

After analysing extracts (7)-(11) as word-to-meaning metapragmatics in Alpegg that revolves around teachers' attempts to clarify vocabulary in sequences that have an overall grammatical focus, I would like to summarise the findings as follows. Despite the fact that only in the lowest academic track of Alpegg could a sequence be found where the teacher explicitly asks for a translation into German, in all classes, pupils use translations to explain the meaning of a word given. The teachers' requests for meaning can be located on a continuum from more or less explicit requests for translations ((11) explicit and (7) implicit) and a rather open request for vocabulary clarification (especially extract (8)). Extract (9) has also shown that the teachers may ensure understanding by requesting pupils to show what the meaning of a word is. And finally, extract (10) displays the only setting up of vocabulary checking, where a teacher initiates the vocabulary assessment and yet hands over to pupils, who ask about the meaning in formulaic fashion.

Extracts (12)-(18) show how the teachers in track A, B and C in Stätten check the meaning of words in their classes. As the data analysed is qualitative in nature and occurrences of metapragmatic work are discussed in order to sketch an overall picture of metapragmatic discourse for the research sample rather than describing the very same number of extracts for each class, I will focus particularly on word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification in the strongest track in Stätten. Extracts (12)-(16), all taken from an introductory sequence, where pupils are instructed to learn how to pronounce and understand some Irish jokes, make it possible to study how metapragmatic work on meaning is set up and developed over a whole introductory activity. Nevertheless, I will also present an extract of word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification for the middle B and lower C track in Stätten (i.e. extracts (17) and (18)). Finally, I will present a summary for the seven extracts discussed in this section.

In the introductory activity analysed in more detail, the teacher explains to the class that Irish jokes all deal with the stereotypical dimwittedness of the Irish people. The class is divided into five groups of three to four pupils and each group is given one joke and a dictionary to work with. Pupils work in their groups for about five minutes before Ms Grell interrupts the sequence, distributes another handout showing all four jokes being worked on and requests each group to read out their joke. Pupils do so and the teacher at various stages corrects pupils' mispronunciations as instances of metapragmatic discourse on grammar rules (this grammar correction, however, is not developed in the analysis here).

The five jokes (three of which are listed above when discussing pronunciation metapragmatics in chapter 5, i.e. 5.4.2) are listed below.

Why do the Irish workers never go on strike? Nobody would notice the difference (see extract (12))

Have you heard about the Irishman who went to the dentist to have a wisdom tooth put in? (see extract (13))

Have you heard about the Irishman who never took his wife out anywhere? His mother had warned him not to go out with married women (see extract (14))

Have you heard about the Irishman who cut a hole in his umbrella? He wanted to know when it stopped raining (see extract (15))

In what month do Irishmen drink the least Guinness? In February (see extract (16))

Apart from the above-mentioned metapragmatic discourse on correct pronunciation of the jokes, the teacher also initiates a combination of vocabulary check and comprehension clarification by asking each group to either *give a summary* of the joke or tell her and the rest of the class *what the joke is all about*. This initiation process and the ensuing development of metalevel discourse is the primary focus in the five sequences shown and analysed below.

(12)
Grell: **so could you please give a short summary in German what it is about the joke?**
Madleine (WHO RAISES HER HAND): ja
Grell (TO MADLEINE): ja
Madleine: wieso waren gehen die englischen arbeiter weniger in streik also weil sie gar keinen unterschied merken
Grell: **yes why?**
Madleine: also weil sie eh nicht arbeiten
Grell: right they would never work that is what it says (NICO LAUGHS) .. okay next joke

Ms Grell initiates the sequence with her initial statement *so could you please give a short summary in German what it is about the joke*, thus establishing a comprehension clarification frame on the propositional first level of discourse (**in bold**). Arguably asking for an "explanation" rather than a "summary" (if a joke can be summarised at all) in German, the teacher's utterance has a certain amount of vagueness in connection with the second part and her reference to what the joke is all about. Madleine neither summarises nor explains in German why the joke is actually funny but interprets Grell's question as an initiating reference to a word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification sequence and therefore provides a translation in Standard German. Ms Grell only briefly acknowledges Madleine's translation efforts with a *yes* and adds *why*, thus clearly showing that she is more interested in the pupil's explanation of the joke (**in bold**). This is also emphasised through Grell's omission of correction given for Madleine's imperfect translation (translating *Irish workers* with *englische arbeiter*, *never go on strike* with *gehen weniger in streik* and *nobody would notice the*

difference with *weil sie gar keinen unterschied merken*). Madleine gives a correct German explanation and responds on the comprehension clarification level that Ms Grell has established with her initiating remark. The teacher finally completes the sequence by giving positive feedback and paraphrasing in English Madleine's German explanation.

The teacher establishes a discoursal floor that is arguably not being recognised as such by the pupil. It is only after another reinforcement regarding such comprehension clarification that the pupil replies to the teacher's satisfaction. Extract (12) thus shows a conflation of (teacher-intended) comprehension clarification on the first level of classroom content, and a word-to-meaning metapragmatic vocabulary discourse interpreted as such by the pupil. With reference to the continuation of this classroom sequence, i.e. the teacher's analogous request directed to the second and third group of pupils as shown in extract (13) and (14) below, it becomes evident that these two sequences build on extract (12) with regard to pupils' reactions.

(13)
Grell: it was the same we have also here an Irishman **could you also give a short summary? (TO ALICE, WHO RAISES HER HAND) .. Alice**
Alice: aso= hast du= jemals von dem irischen also Iren gehört der zum zahnarzt gegangen ist um einen weisheitszahn ein - hinein machen zu lassen (POINTS TO HER TEETH)
Grell: right (NICO LAUGHS AGAIN)

(14)
Grell: right you don't say the e the rest was okay .. good ehm **Michele could you give a short summary?**
Michele: hast du jemals von dem Iren gehört der seine frau nie ehm irgendwohin mitnahm .. seine mutter hatte ihn gewarnt dass er nie mit verheirateten frauen ausgeht
Grell: good

In both sequences (13) and (14), Grell asks her class (i.e. Alice in (13) and Michele in (14)) to give a short summary (**in bold**). She does not initiate the sequence by being as specific as in (12) above as she neither mentions what language the summary should be produced in (i.e. German in (12)) nor emphasises the comprehension clarification floor as in *what is about the joke* in extract (12). Both Alice and Michele act in similar fashion compared to Madleine in extract (12), i.e. they do not provide the teacher and the rest of the class with an explanation of the humorous aspect of the joke but instead translate the jokes. They both do so successfully; it is in fact particularly worth noting how carefully Michele translates the past perfect of his joke *had warned him* with the correct German equivalent *hatte ihn gewarnt*. What follows in both sequences is the positive feedback as seen in extract (12) as well. Ms Grell, however, in the two extracts above, does not insist on her set-up of comprehension clarification and seems to be satisfied with the metalevel of word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification adopted by the pupils. Sequences (13) and (14) therefore differ sharply from sequence (12) in that the teacher in (13) and (14) complies with the pupils' interpretation of the discourse set up by the teacher, without firm insistence on the comprehension clarification frame as in (12).

In extract (15), Ms Grell initiates and establishes the discussion with Paola about the joke as follows.

(15)
Grell: **good and Paola what it is about?**
Paola: aso ehm es isch emal en Ir --
Grell (INTERRUPTS): hochdeutsch
Paola: hast du schon einmal einen Iren gesehen der ein loch in den regenschirm
gemacht hat um zu sehen wann .. der regen aufhört (NICO LAUGHS AGAIN)
Grell: right good

Compared with the extracts (12)-(14), where Grell explicitly requests a summary with (extract (12)) or without (extracts (13) and (14)) the reference to what the joke is all about, the teacher in (15) initiates the sequence by merely asking *what [the joke] is about*. This reference to a comprehension clarification framework, as in the previous examples, is again not recognised or actively responded to by Paola. Instead, like pupils in sequences (12)-(14) earlier, she decides to reply without explaining why the joke is funny but in fact shows successful mastery of vocabulary by translating the sequence. Her initial target language for the translation is Swiss German. She thus provokes her teacher into interrupting her utterance and inserting a metapragmatic input regarding norms of interaction (i.e. the request to choose the standard variety for the translation in the classroom). Paola complies with a correct translation into Standard German and receives short positive feedback. It must be noted that in this sequence again, Ms Grell accepts the translation of the joke without the pupil's explicit reference to why the joke is funny. Of course, one might argue that providing a correct translation may in fact imply that the joke has been understood. However, returning to extract (12), the only instance in the four sequences analysed so far, where Ms Grell insists on the pupil's explanation of the joke, it can be seen that Nico only starts laughing and arguably understands the joke after Madleine has given a German explanation of the joke and Ms Grell has completed the sequence by paraphrasing Madleine's explanation.

Extract (16) shows the last teacher-pupil exchange in this sequence as a more complex combination of comprehension clarification and metapragmatics on meaning.

(16)

Grell: **right and what it is about Nico?** (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Nico: er tuät ähm i welem monet tuät (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) trinkt ein aso ein irischer mann sein letztes bier aso ein kleines bier

Grell: **nicht letztes least what means least? .. ja** (TO JAELLE, WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Jaelle: am wenigsten bier

Grell: yes .. least (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) .. [und was --]

Nico: [am wenigsten stark] .. am wenigsten starkes bier

Grell: **yes and what it is about now what does it mean?**

Nico: am Februar .. [im Februar]

Grell: [yes] February is the answer and what does it mean? .. the whole joke? .. what is the funny thing of this joke? .. [yes] (TO MICHELE, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Nico: [es hät gar keinä]

Michele: Februar ist der kürzeste monat

Grell: right that is not a long month so you don't [have you have] time to drink a lot .. that is the funny thing

Nico: [aha=] (NICO AND INGRID LAUGH)

Grell: okay

Ms Grell, similar to her initiation in extract (15), opens the floor with the utterance *right and what is it about Nico* (**in bold**). However, not aligning his utterance to the established floor of comprehension clarification, Nico, too, offers a translation first. Interestingly, Nico translates the first part of the joke into Swiss German and then switches to Standard German. Within such focus-on-meaning vocabulary framework, it becomes evident that he relies heavily on the phonetic similarity between English *least* and Standard German *letzt*. What follows is a somewhat surprising change from *letztes bier* to *ein kleines bier*, i.e. 'a small beer', suggesting perhaps that a last beer be ultimately a small beer? Nico's reaction to Grell's request regarding the understanding of the joke, shows that he adopts interesting techniques to fulfil the task that he believes to be of primary importance (i.e. as in the extracts above, the translation of the joke). In addition, he uses the linguistic resources in German and Swiss German to do so.

Nevertheless, he misunderstands the English word *least*, which Ms Grell insists on by clearly asking *nicht letztes, least what means least* on a metapragmatic level of word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification (**in bold**). Jaelle, also one of the pupils in Nico's group, provides the correct answer in Standard German, the officially accepted school language unless the target language English is being spoken. And before Ms Grell gets a chance to rephrase her initial question, i.e. asking about the funny side of the joke, Nico provides yet another translation of *the least Guinness*, understanding it as an indication of the strength of the beer (i.e. *am wenigsten starkes bier*).

The fact that Ms Grell no longer corrects Nico's incorrect metapragmatic efforts on the vocabulary level suggests what she explicitly verbalises with her utterance *yes and what it is about now what does it mean* (**in bold**). She actively redirects the conversation from the metapragmatic level of meaning to the comprehension level of the joke. Nico swiftly provides an answer. His previous translation of *the least Guinness,* however, leaves no doubt that he has not understood the thematic link between *the least Guinness* and the shortest month of the year. Therefore, Ms Grell insists on an explicit comprehension explanation why *February is the answer,* and Nico, in his statement *es hät gar keinä*, i.e. 'there is none', confirms that he has not yet grasped the humorous aspect of the joke. Michele, a pupil not in the actual joke group, steps in and gives the correct explanation in Standard German. Grell, as in extract (12) above, paraphrases the correct explanation of the joke in English and Nico finally gets the point, with his short utterance *aha*.

Apart from the dual discourse initiated on the propositional comprehension level, developed mainly on the metapragmatic word-to-meaning vocabulary level before returning to the comprehension floor, this sequence illustrates how much effort it may take for a pupil to make sense of a single word. It also shows how some answers are taken up and some left out depending on whether they "fit in with" the teacher's expectations regarding the development of interaction. Clearly, Nico provides the German answer *letztes* for English *least* based on the phonetic similarity between the two words. Interestingly, he provides an alternative with the German version *kleines,* which may suggest that his tactical consideration go into the direction of increasing the possibility of a correct answer when providing more than one version.

Ms Grell, who may find it reasonable to remain on the vocabulary metalevel of discourse owing to Nico's inability to translate *least* into German correctly, recognises Nico's connection between English *least* and German *letztes*, but not the connection between *least* and *klein* (i.e. German for 'small'). She thus simply ignores Nico's second option and instead provides Nico with a "short cut" to the correct translation of *least* by asking another pupil (who gives the correct answer). It is worth noting that Nico, by no means satisfied with the labelled "correct" translation of *least,* continues hypothesising about the correct translation (i.e. *am wenigsten stark*). He therefore clearly shows the teacher (on the metapragmatic level of word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification) that he has not yet understood what *least* actually means and that he is not prepared to simply accept a translation given by a classmate. On the contrary, he provides yet another translation. At this stage, Ms Grell, who apparently interprets Jaelle's correct translation of *the least* with *am wenigsten* as an acceptable counterweight to Nico's incorrect *am wenigsten starkes bier* (i.e. literally, 'the least strong beer'), quite unexpectedly switches abruptly to the initially established comprehension frame. She thus shortens the pupil's possibility for a more extended process of hypothesis building.

All in all, I have analysed five extracts in thematic and discourse-organisational sequence. What seems particularly worth noting is that communication is set up and established through an unclear teacher's reference to the meaning of the joke that she arguably interprets as a comprehension effort expected from the pupils. In all examples, the pupils involved first respond on the metapragmatic word-to-meaning vocabulary level. In other words, it is the teacher who makes the effort to establish a propositional framework, but in her attempt to do so on the comprehension clarification level, she achieves only "moderate" success. The observed failure of teacher-pupil alignment of conversation is recognised by the teacher who, as can be seen above, reacts differently in her attempt to redirect the conversation to the originally intended comprehension clarification discourse. Only in (12) and (16) does Ms Grell explicitly re-establish the comprehension framework (see utterances **in bold** about half way through each sequence), in (16) even after three turns that include two pupils in the joint effort to clarify how to translate the English word *least* into Standard German. By way of contrast, in extracts (13), (14) and (15), Grell accepts or tolerates her pupils responding on the metapragmatic vocabulary level and does not redirect the conversation to the comprehension floor. It is interesting to note that the teacher's insistence on the comprehension framework occurs in the two extracts where the pupils produce imperfect translations. From the pupils' successful translations in (13), (14) and (15), the teacher may deduce that they have

understood the joke and therefore regard a re-establishment of the comprehension framework as unnecessary.

Extract (17) is a short sequence taken from the B track in Stätten, where pupils do a classroom exercise on past simple forms, dealing with the topic of the famous painter Picasso.

(17)
Keller: famous (SPEAKS SLOWLY) **yes do you understand the word famous?** (FATLUM RAISES HIS HAND)
Fatlum (WITHOUT BEING GIVEN THE FLOOR): berühmt
Keller: a famous painter ja

Ms Keller does not request pupils to explicitly translate the word *famous*. Nevertheless, Fatlum's translation into Standard German is accepted and given a positive feedback by the teacher. In the B track in Stätten too, direct translations can be seen as the standard answer when the teacher checks vocabulary and asks for the meaning of a certain word in English.

In extract (18), the last one discussed for word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification as a teacher check, Mr Sieber randomly collects pupils' sentences and asks them to turn these into different tenses. In the example below, he checks upon Dario's vocabulary knowledge and does so in a particular way.

(18)
Dario: I wrote m - a card
Sieber: I wrote a card
Dario: mmh?
Sieber: **heisst was? .. schnell auf übersetzen schnell auf deutsch für die anderen die es nicht verstanden haben**
Dario: ich schreibe eine karte
Sieber: nein
Pxs: (GIGGLE)
Sieber: okay .. ich -- .. repeat
Dario: ich schrieb eine karte
Sieber: bingo

As in the teacher's initiation to a vocabulary check in extract (11) from the equivalent lowest academic track in Alpegg, Mr Sieber in Stätten also explicitly asks for a translation into German. However, he does so by using Standard German in the first place and therefore initiates an interaction with Dario almost exclusively in Standard German.

The above analysed extracts (17) and (18) and especially the first five extracts for track A in Stätten (i.e. extracts (12)-(16)), where the teacher's instructions range from requests for a summary in German, a summary without reference to a translation into German or a request for an explanation of the joke, clearly suggest that these initiations all result in pupils' translations. The clarification of meaning, although being set up by the teacher as an overall request for a clarification check on the comprehension level rather than the metalevel of vocabulary, seems to be understood by pupils on the vocabulary level only. Both in Alpegg and Stätten, pupils by and large respond to their teachers checking on the meaning by providing a translation into Standard German. Additionally, it is only in both C-track classes that teachers explicitly request pupils to translate the meaning of words into Standard German. In the C track in Stätten, such requests are often voiced in Standard German too. It must be mentioned again that especially extracts (12)-(16) have suggested that it is not only the teacher, as the initiator of the interactional floor, who defines the metapragmatic level but also very much the pupils in their efforts to interpret and develop the conversations.

Extracts (19)-(22) show examples of word-to-meaning metapragmatics on vocabulary that are initiated by pupils. This group is much smaller compared to word-to-meaning metapragmatics initiated by teachers. In Stätten, only the following two examples can be found for the A and C track, whereas no such form of metapragmatics has been observed in the two lessons of the B track. Both (19) and (20) are initiated in a very similar way and pupils in both extracts are working on a grammar activity in the course book.

(19)
Nico: **sie was isch mit six months gmeint? .. [six months?]**
Grell: [six months?]
Nico: ja
Grell: sechs monate
Nico: okay

(20)
Valmir: **sie was heisst enjoy?**
Sieber: look in your book ... or look here (SIEBER POINTS TO DICTIONARY)

Both Nico and Valmir ask the teachers to clarify the meaning of a word or phrase in Swiss German. It can be argued that Nico's question in (19) is not on vocabulary but in fact a comprehension question about the topic (i.e. being about au pairs who, according to the text in the course book, have to stay at a place for at least six months). However, Grell's translation and Nico's acceptance of it nevertheless suggest that the pupil, with his original question, seeks a response on the metapragmatic level of vocabulary clarification. Valmir in (20), undoubtedly asking for the meaning of *enjoy*, is not given the answer in German but is reminded to use the dictionary in order to check the word himself.

Pupil-initiated requests for vocabulary clarification are thus practically inexistent in the data analysed for Stätten. Interestingly, the A and B tracks in Alpegg very much reflect this observation. In fact, not a single pupil-initiated request for vocabulary clarification can be found. By way of contrast, there is an abundance of pupil-initiated word-to-meaning vocabulary metapragmatics in the data for the weakest academic track in Alpegg.

One observed pattern resembles extract (20) above. In (21), pupils also ask their teacher about the meaning of a word in Swiss German, the difference being that the teacher exclusively responds by using Standard German too.

(21)
Klemens: **was heisst crossed?**
Stocker: sorry?
Klemens: crossed?
Stocker: crossed .. where is it? .. ah crossed .. überquerte

At least as frequent is the pattern already observed in extract (10), i.e. pupils' formulaic vocabulary questions directed at their teacher. An example is given below. Whereas in (10) the meaning metalevel is established by the teacher, Boris in (22) directs the conversation to such meaning metafloor all by himself.

(22)

Boris: **ähm what's the meaning of buried?**

Stocker: buried?

Boris: yes

Stocker: vergrub mmh .. to bury .. vergraben .. buried .. vergrub ... ja

As for pupil-initiated, word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification, extracts (19)-(22) have shown that, with the exception of the C-track class in Alpegg, hardly any pupil seems to make the effort to establish such a meaning metalevel him/herself. The findings, however, must be interpreted with great caution. It is true that virtually no pupil, except in the above-mentioned C track in Alpegg, actively claims the floor to ask the teacher to clarify the meaning of a certain word if this statement is being made for teacher-guided frontal teaching. As transcriptions were made from a camcorder capable of recording all frontal classroom discussions, the lack of such pupil-initiated vocabulary questions allows such a claim. Consequently, one also has to bear in mind that numerous individual pupil-initiated vocabulary questions, where pupils did not have to claim the floor in front of the whole class, may not have been recorded. Extracts (19) and (20), in fact, are both individual non-frontal questions that therefore must not be seen as the only ones occurring but the only ones recorded. All in all, it can be stated with certainty that only pupils in the C track in Alpegg claim the floor in front of the class to ask their teacher for clarification on the meaning of words. When pupils in all other classes nevertheless seek clarification, data (and technical considerations mentioned above) suggest that they do so individually, i.e. on a one-to-one basis with the teachers.

The above-mentioned technical limitations, merely permitting random recordings of interactions that do not take place between the teachers and their classes as a whole, also affect the next small group of word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification. Without a doubt, the following two extracts, as the ones recorded within the technical set up, only offer a glimpse of how pupils may clarify meaning in metatalk without the teacher being involved.

In (23), Adrian and Boris collaborate as a pair on a true/false comprehension exercise about a course book text on *The Great Fire of London*. The true/false question at hand is *the fire burned for five days*, which is incorrect according to the text, which says it burned for four days. Adrian, in the dialogue below, initiates the sequence by referring to the correct passage in the text. Boris, in turn, repeats Adrian's sentence and offers a word-to-meaning explanation by translating the phrase *burned for four days* (**in bold**).

(23)
Adrian: they burned .. for .. for four days
Boris: they burned for four days .. for four --
Adrian: hey weisch was [(INCOMPREHENSIBLE) natel isch kapput]
Boris: [**das heisst they brennen für vier tage**] .. **es brannte für vier tage**

(23) shows that vocabulary negotiations between pupils seem to take place in Swiss German by means of translating a target word into Standard German. It also shows that there is certainly a considerable amount of pupil-pupil talk unconnected with any school subject (*natel isch kapput*). This is, however, an observation that has not been the object of any particular research in this study. In addition, extract (23) also indicates that certain English grammar structures (*for four days*) may interfere with pupils' processes of translating them into Swiss German or Standard German (i.e. *es brannte für vier tage* is ungrammatical in Standard German).

In (24), a conversation between Jonida, Karola and Michele, observations made in (23) can be supported. Once more, word-to-meaning metatalk between pupils is carried out in Swiss German and meaning is clarified by means of translations.

(24)
Jonida (TO KAROLA): must heisst dürfen
Karola: [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]
Michele (TO BOTH): [müssen] [[.. must heisst müssen]]
Jonida: [[nei dürfen .. have to heisst müssen]]
Karola: nei (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Considering the fact that conversations recorded for word-to-meaning vocabulary checks initiated by the teachers in frontal teaching sequences predominantly develop into translation activities by the pupils, it is not surprising that pupils themselves work out the meaning of words by actually translating them.

Having studied both teacher- and pupil-initiated vocabulary checking, as well as pupils addressing each other for word-to-meaning clarifications, the last group, albeit very small in terms of data found, still shows another way in which the teacher may give metapragmatic input on vocabulary. Extract (25), taken from the A track in Alpegg, shows such an example.

(25)
Schwaller: .. **so her father is a Russian Jew ein ein russischer Jude** .. she's got one brother he's called Richard .. she's got two sisters one of them is called Sara and the other one is called Sonja .. she also has a half-brother a half-brother .. he's called Benjamin .. **and he is from his= her father's second marriage because her father was married .. twice .. so it's her half-brother it's not the same mother but it's the same father ..** if you look at her family background she was born in Switzerland but the family moved to Germany .. where she began her schooling .. so when she went to school she was already in Germany she was not in Switzerland any more .. at the age of five .. her parents **divorced .. separated** and she and her siblings moved to England .. they went to England from Germany

Schwaller, as teacher input shortly following extract (7), where he enables one of his pupils to translate *Jews* into German, states the phrase again and provides the translation himself without involving pupils in the interaction. He also explains in English what a *half-brother* is and gives a synonym for the English word *divorced* (**both bold**). Although very rare, (25) shows that a teacher may also clarify vocabulary by giving input to the class as a whole, without abandoning the floor, thus without assigning an active role to pupils at all. Interestingly, (25) is the only sequence found in the whole set of word-to-meaning clarification, where the teacher also makes use of English to explain a word.

Having studied the lesson extracts for focus-on-meaning super (6.2) and the first part of focus-on-meaning sub (i.e. 6.3.1, word-to-meaning mapping), I would like to stress that there are some general findings and some relating to the larger sample in 6.3 that are worth summarising at this point. The twenty-five extracts studied have revealed that, in both sub and

super sections, metapragmatic work varies considerably, depending on the setting up of the lesson sequence. The metapragmatic input by the teacher may vary in length, depending on whether he/she simply provides a translation for a vocabulary question asked by the pupil (e.g. (19)), or develops a vocabulary check in a more elaborate way (e.g. extract (7)). By way of contrast, pupils' metapragmatic work on vocabulary is generally very short. Data studied so far suggests that the main reason for this can be attributed to the fact that most of the focus-on-meaning clarifications in either sub or super sequences follow the format pupil request - teacher translation or teacher request - pupil translation. In addition, pupils' limited language production when requesting a metapragmatic explanation by the teacher or giving a metapragmatic response to a question being asked, predominantly takes place in Swiss or Standard German. Data also suggests that the above-mentioned findings do not depend on the teachers' designation of lesson sequences as being particularly vocabulary oriented (i.e. super/sub distinction). However, extracts (2)-(4) show that the setting up of an activity where pupils have to explain words to each other, undoubtedly boosts their metapragmatic production on vocabulary. And recollecting the lesson sequence where (2)-(4) are taken from, i.e. an introductory activity of a lesson, I would like to suggest that such vocabulary setting up can only be achieved if designated as vocabulary input as such. In other words, the potential for longer pupils' productions lie in sequences labelled by the teacher as explicitly focusing on meaning (this statement is, however, based on the limited number of such focus-on-meaning super sequences in this data).

As for teacher checking in focus-on-meaning subsections, data has shown that teachers rarely ask pupils for translations explicitly but nevertheless predominantly receive such a response, which is valued as an adequate answer. Having found a teacher's request from a pupil to actually show understanding by explaining a word visually, I would like to state that such approach is nevertheless very rare in the data presented.

Regarding the smaller groups analysed, it has been surprising to find that, in only one class (i.e. weakest track in Alpegg), do pupils request clarification on a metapragmatic floor in front of the whole class. It has equally been pointed out that technical limitations do not permit making statements of pupils' vocabulary questions directed at their teachers in group conversations (as they were simply too randomly recorded). Additionally, the same technical limitation also accounts for the lack of vocabulary sequences recorded, taking place between pupils off-stage, i.e. not in front of the whole class. Nevertheless, the two extracts discussed

hint at pupils' predominant strategy of asking each other in Swiss German and explaining English words by translating them into Standard German. And finally, albeit practically inexistent in this data, the teacher may establish a metapragmatic floor by explaining a word in English or translating a term, but without involving pupils actively at all.

6.3.2 Meaning-to-Word Mapping

In this subchapter, I would like to analyse how vocabulary is addressed when the clarifying process starts with the meaning of a word and the English word itself is mapped to it. In other words, I will focus on strategies that either teachers or pupils apply in order to get from the meaning, i.e. either the German equivalent or an explanation of the word in German or English, to the target word in English. It must be mentioned that meaning-to-word mapping consists of a much smaller sample than word-to-meaning mapping, discussed in 6.3.1. As a result, regarding teacher checks, I will only present two extracts for Alpegg and three for Stätten. As for pupils requesting to know the word for the meaning of a word, again only two extracts have been identified and will be shown for each site. I will provide a short summary at the end of 6.3.2 again and conclude chapter 6 with some overall remarks on the findings presented.

With reference to teacher checks, extracts (26) and (27), both taken from the middle track, are the lesson sequences identified where meaning-to-word mapping occurs in Alpegg. (26) was recorded in the first lesson and is part of a comprehension exercise, where the teacher asks his pupils questions from the course book on a fictional story about a group of teenagers cruising on the river Thames. The relevant comprehension question for (26) is *what was Greg doing*, and a pupil correctly responds that he was pointing at the *London Eye* (past continuous as the grammatical focus). In the extract below, the teacher wants to know what Greg's job is.

(26)
Moser: now and what's his job then?
Roger: he ähm he is the the the .. ähm reiseleiter
Moser: **yes .. how is that in English? .. does anybody remember? .. he's the .. tour --?**
Alex: guide
Moser: oh he's the tour guide .. exactly

After Moser asks what Greg's job is, Roger code-switches to Standard German and, on the content level, provides the correct answer. The teacher, who acknowledges his response, wants to know what *reiseleiter* is in English and asks the class again. However, rather than merely asking the very open question *how is that in English .. does anybody remember*, Ms Moser elicits the target word by providing the first word of the compound noun *tour guide* (**in bold**). In other words, it is through the metapragmatic input of phrase truncation that the teacher manages to support Alex in the process of mapping the English word *guide* to the German equivalent *reiseleiter*.

(27) is a short extract that shows another approach the teacher may take to ensure pupils' production of a target word in English. It is taken from the introduction to the second lesson recorded, where Ms Moser asks pupils what they were doing at 7 o'clock that morning.

(27)
Px: I was eating
Moser: you were eating? .. what were you eating?
Px: ehm bread and butter and .. and --?
Alex: schmalz (WHISPERS)
Moser: **jam .. honey or jam?**
Px: honey
Moser: honey a=h very good

On being asked what he was eating (i.e. at 7 o'clock that day), an unidentified pupil responds with an incomplete sentence. Moser steps in and interprets that the pupil may want to use honey or jam to spread on the bread together with butter (**in bold**). The teacher-initiated meaning-to-word mapping is therefore achieved firstly through Moser's interpretation of the pupil's sentence on the propositional content level and secondly through her metapragmatic input on meaning by offering the pupil two options to choose from. Interestingly, Alex' input *schmalz*, which is a local world for butter in the Alpegg area, is not taken up by the teacher in metapragmatic terms.

In the next section, teacher-initiated meaning-to-word mapping will be studied with three extracts identified in the data of Stätten, i.e. two in the B and one in the C track. In (28) and (29), Ms Keller from the B track pursues approaches not seen in Alpegg before. (28) is taken from the last activity in the second lesson, where pupils cut up a worksheet, adding different slips of paper to construct correct past participles (e.g. walk ed). Ms Keller addresses the class as she wants to ensure that pupils know the English word *scissors*.

(28)
Keller: **hello what's this?**
Fatlum: aha [that's] pencil pen
Px: [schär] (ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION)
Keller: pen? […] [[how can I write --?]] (USES SCISSORS AS A PEN)
Fatlum: [no no no no no no] [[that's --]]
Keller: **these are scissors no schärs .. scissors**
Ps: schärs (LAUGH)

Keller relates to the target word *scissors* exophorically by using a demonstrative pronoun (**in bold**). Thus, rather than truncating her input or giving an option of two words as Moser did in (26) and (27), the teacher checks on the meaning of a word by showing it to the class. An unidentified pupil (i.e. Px) identifies the pair of scissors correctly, yet provides the German word pronounced in English. Keller, however, reacts to Faltum's incorrect input (i.e. pencil/pen) by showing visually that the target object cannot be used for writing. Keller finally provides the correct English word and contrasts it with the incorrect suggestion of the pupil (**in bold**).

In (29), the same teacher is working with his class on a grammar exercise about the past simple, where pupils have to produce the questions to short answers such as *Armstrong did*. A pupil first produces the correct sentence in terms of content, although giving the affirmative one rather than the question. In the extract below, Keller asks the class to transform the sentence *Armstrong first walked on the moon* into a question that corresponds to the above-mentioned short answer *Armstrong did.*

(29)

Keller: yes now we have to transform this into a question .. like the question about Picasso .. who … first on the moon? .. who --.. hey don't be lazy .. we know .. Armstrong first walked on the moon now transform this into a question please .. Boris (WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Boris: who did the first walk on the moon

Keller: yes could be okay but now I would like to take the forms we have above with Picasso .. just take the verb .. **who .. marschierte first on the moon** (FATLUM RAISES HIS HAND ENTHUSIASTICALLY)

Fatlum: walk

Keller: nein Boris again

Boris: wer .. who walked the first man on the moon

Keller: yes who walked first on the moon that's okay

Boris turns the sentence into *who did the first walk on the moon*. Keller responds to this statement on the metapragmatic level of form but (**in bold)** not just emphasises the correct grammatical structure that she expects, but in fact adds to the grammar exercise a meaning-to-word-mapping task, where Boris is expected to translate *marschierte* into the correct English equivalent *walked*. The teacher thus uses a meaning-to-word vocabulary clarifying task in the broader interest of grammar to elicit the correct past simple form of *marschierte*, i.e. *walked*. She achieves this by reading out the expected sentence with the translated grammar form. In chapter 10, such hierarchical structures in my metapragmatic data will be addressed and discussed in detail.

The last extract regarding teacher-initiated, meaning-to-word vocabulary checking was recorded in the C track in Stätten. The general aim of the lesson being primarily about the labelling of tenses and turning fictional sentences into different tenses (e.g. I drink milk→I drank milk), extract (30) is another typical example of meaning-to-word vocabulary clarification in the interest of a higher grammar aim. Trying to elicit the fact that in questions (e.g. did I drink milk), an auxiliary verb must be used in English, Mr Sieber refers to *auxiliary verb* as shown below.

(30)
Sieber (POINTS TO *DID* ON THE BLACKBOARD): **wie sagen wir dem auf deutsch?**
Px1: tun was man tut
Sieber: hilfsverb
Px2: hilfsverb ah ja
Sieber: **hilfsverb … auf englisch .. wie heisst es auf e -? .. wisst ihr**
(INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Massimo: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Sieber: weiss es jemand von euch? .. jäh help nie= … auxiliary verb (DOESN'T PRONOUNCE THE „I") .. häh .. auxiliary ..au - .. jetzt jetzt jetzt .. auxiliary verb .. genau
(PUPILS GIGGLE)
Sieber: gut

The teacher refers to the auxiliary verb and switches to Standard German for his grammatical input (**in bold**). In other words, he addresses the pupils on the metapragmatic level of form and yet initiates a meaning-to-word vocabulary clarification task by asking pupils for the grammatical label of the word *did* on the blackboard. An unidentified pupil provides a seemingly unrelated response in German (i.e. *tun was man tut*) before Mr Sieber labels *did* as *hilfsverb* himself. Sieber's next input (**in bold**) shows the actual process of making pupils link the meaning of *auxiliary verb* – in this case the German translation – to the word itself. Massimo's incomprehensible answer is followed by Sieber's providing the label for the whole class.

Extract (30) shows a two-step approach of meaning-to-word clarification; the teacher initiates this within an overall grammar-oriented lesson sequence by using the visual stimulus of the blackboard to obtain the German translation for his target word *auxiliary verb*.

The very few examples hitherto discussed for meaning-to-word mapping have shown that teachers hardly ever elicit an English word by starting from a meaning but more frequently check the meaning of a given word as previously analysed. When they do do so, extracts (26)-(30) have suggested the following approaches. Teachers may apply truncation of a compound noun (i.e. (26)) to guide pupils in their process of mapping the English word to the German translation. Additionally, they may provide pupils with a list of English words to choose from (i.e. (27)). (28) and (30) also show that teachers may initiate the meaning of a word by using

visual aids (i.e. object itself or blackboard) before pupils are requested to map a word to it. And finally, extracts (29) and (30) have hinted at teachers' use of metapragmatic levels of meaning where the overall focus lies on grammar, i.e. where the teachers establish such meaning metafloor to support pupils in their understanding of formal aspects of the English language.

Similar to pupils requesting word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification, meaning-to-word clarification initiated by pupils is a very small subgroup as well. In extracts (31) and (32) for Alpegg, as well as (33) and (34) for Stätten, pupils ask their teachers in different ways for target words that they lack in their lexical repertoire.

Extract (31) was recorded in the first lesson of the A track in Alpegg. The teacher shows his class a picture of Jason Donovan, a star in the soap *Neighbours,* which is the topic of the lesson. As can be seen **in bold**, an unidentified pupil claims the floor and asks for the English word *gay* before Mr Schwaller has finished his instructions. He takes up the pupil's question, repeats the adjective in German and then tells his class that the English equivalent is *gay*.

(31)
Schwaller: right .. let's have a look at .. a=f - a male star of this soap .. Jason Donovan
(SCHWALLER SHOWS PICTURES ON A SLIDE)
Px: **sie we seit mä der gseht schwul us?**
Schwaller: okay you describe him .. how does he look like? .. **if you want to say he looks schwul it is gay in English** (SOME PUPILS LAUGH) .. that's what I heard … but you have to decide .. you can take other verbs .. other descriptions

In three of the four meaning-to-word vocabulary clarifications identified and presented here, pupils code-switch into Swiss German when addressing their teachers. Extract (32) below is the only recorded sequence of a pupil issuing such a request in English. It is the reporting stage of a group activity, where pupils first tell each other what they were doing at 10.45am on that day (the grammatical focus being the past continuous form).

(32)
Moser: what was *she* doing?
Sibylle: Daniela was giving her (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) (LAUGHS)
Gwendolin: she's a super sweety girl
Moser: listen .. listen .. let's finish this .. can you say it again?
Sibylle: **I don't know how to say it**
Moser: she was .. (MOSER WHISPERS THE WORD MODELLING)
Sibylle: ah she was modelling for a test for [..] exam
Moser: [exactly]

Sibylle, who reports back to the class what Daniela was doing at 10.45 am, struggles at first. Sibylle's contribution is incomprehensible on the recording and Ms Moser has difficulty in understanding Sibylle acoustically, too. After being requested to repeat her sentence, Sibylle opens a metapragmatic floor by voicing her inability to find the right words (**in bold**). She thus indirectly requests a meaning-to-word vocabulary clarification and remains noticeably less specific about her clarification compared with the pupil in extract (31). Ms Moser interprets the missing word as being *to model* and whispers it for Sibylle to incorporate into her last phrase *she was modelling for a test.*

It becomes evident that Sibylle's choice of language, i.e. the use of the target language English, has a detrimental effect on her ability to express what word she is looking for on the metapragmatic level of meaning. The lack of pupils' requests in English for meaning-to-word sequences discussed in the extracts (31)-(34) must therefore, at least partly, be interpreted as a result of pupils' decision to avoid unclear requests and having to depend on teachers' interpretations of their vocabulary questions.

As for meaning-to-word metapragmatic negotiation in Stätten, the very short extract (33) and the longer one (34) are the only instances found in the data presented. In the former extract, Nico asks her teacher for the English equivalent of German *verdienen* and does so in Swiss German (**in bold**).

(33)
Nico: **was heisst verdienen?**
Grell: Nico earn

In (34), the same pupil claims the floor after a listening comprehension exercise, where pupils have to tick the correct answers and turn phrases into complete sentences. In the sequence below, Nico has identified the correct phrase *CHF 600 a month plus accommodation and all meals* and attempts to turn it into a full sentence.

(34)
Grell: Nico do you have a full sentence [...] to number one?
Nico: [ja]
Nico: aso an au pair must the .. take to … **wie seit mä dem ähm to Wälschland?**
Grell: to the Romandie
Nico: to the Romandie ähm about 600 francs .. aso --
Grell: he must go?
Nico: nei
Grell: please *repeat* it .. I didn't get [the sentence]
Nico: [an au pair must] pay -- .. **sie was heisst zahlä?**
Grell: pay
Nico: pay .. ähm about 600 fra- ähm aso francs ähm a month
Grell: she ähm the au pair has to pay to the families [600 francs?]
Nico: [ja ja genau]
Michele: häh=?
Grell: I'm not -- .. that is not what *I* heard someone else got something else? .. yes (ESTHER RAISES HER HAND)
Esther: an au pair earns 600 francs a month plus accomation (INSTEAD OF ACCOMMODATION) and all meals
Nico: äh ja genau das hani gmeint

Nico requests the word for Swiss German *Wälschland* right at the start and addresses his teacher in Swiss German (**in bold**). Grell interestingly provides the term *Romandie* rather than the more frequently used English term *French-speaking Switzerland.* His teacher's input does not appear to help Nico much as he simply repeats her teacher's input and adds the amount of money which must be included in the answer. Grell in her phrase *he must go* and rising intonation, returns to the content level of the sentence, trying to find out what Nico intends to say and at the same time including a modal verb as the grammatical focus of the exercise. In Nico's second attempt to provide an appropriate sentence, he again lacks an English word and

therefore switches to the metefloor of meaning in order to ask for it (**in bold**). In the remaining discussion, Ms Grell questions Nico's sentence on the content level by asking if Nico believes that *the au pair has to pay to the families 600 francs* and elicits the correct answer from Esther.

When we compare extracts (33) and (34), it becomes evident that, depending on how the pupils' requests are embedded in the overall content structure of the sequences, the exchanges may vary considerably in length. In other words, as Ms Grell in (34) has some expectations about Nico's answer on the content level, the stretch of discourse, although interspersed with Nico's metarequests on meaning, develops largely on the propositional first level of interaction. On the other hand, Nico's metarequest on meaning in (33) lacks contextualisation, which may be the reason why the whole exchange remains very short.

Pupil-initiated vocabulary clarification when looking for an English word, i.e. meaning-to-word clarification, is a subgroup as small as the equivalent word-to-meaning counterpart previously discussed. This finding must also be interpreted in the context of data collection. As camcorder recordings and transcriptions of interactions primarily covered interactions between the teachers and the pupils as a class, it can be concluded that the lack of recorded meaning-to-word requests by pupils only applies when focusing on pupils' efforts in front of the whole class. As a consequence, it can be claimed that if pupils request a meaning-to-word clarification, they normally decide against doing it when the class listens and instead talk to the teacher individually (as in (32) and (33), which are non-frontal discussions between the teacher and individual pupils that took place close to the camcorder and were thus recorded all the same).

6.4 Summary of Findings

In this chapter, I have shown that the discussion of meaning of words (in frontal classroom organisation), as one of my metapragmatic categories identified in chapter 4, is mainly initiated by the teachers in sequences that do not explicitly revolve around lexis. In other words, I have identified only a few sequences where the main focus generally lies on vocabulary with teachers explicitly introducing them as such. In these sequences – labelled SUPER and analysed in 6.2 above – instances have been found where both teachers and pupils initiate a vocabulary clarification. They do so by requesting the word when a meaning is given (meaning-to-word mapping) or by asking for the meaning of a given word (word-to-meaning mapping). The number of identified sequences being small, it nevertheless appears that pupils, even in designated vocabulary sequences, only use English to engage in metapragmatic discourse with their teachers or one another if they are closely guided in their metatalk (e.g. they comment on their task of matching English definitions to the corresponding English words as in (1)) or they are explicitly told to explain certain words to each other in English (e.g. (2)-(4)).

In the majority of sequences, the teachers do not assign an explicit vocabulary focus to the metapragmatic discourses on the meaning of words. In the labelled SUB sequences, teachers and pupils deal with vocabulary issues "in passing", i.e. within an overall focus on grammar. In these sequences, data has shown that word-to-meaning clarification is much more frequent than meaning-to-word clarification. When teachers initiate a word-to-meaning mapping metafloor, they rarely ask for explicit translations of words in English, but accept pupils translating the words as adequate answers. Often, a teacher-initiated vocabulary check thus finishes with a pupil providing the correct translation (possibly followed by a teacher's feedback).

Cases of pupils who request vocabulary clarifications when addressing their teachers have only been found frequently in one class. This suggests that pupils rarely expose themselves as initiators of meaning metafloors in front of the class. Technical restrictions regarding classroom observations do not permit making similar claims for off-stage conversations, possibly not covered on the recordings.

As for meaning-to-word clarification sequences, some teachers' attempts to support pupils' processes of mapping given meanings to target words are truncating the target word (i.e. first word given of a compound noun as in (26)) or providing pupils with options of more than one word to choose from (as in (27)). The initiation to such target-word searching processes may be achieved through teachers' exophoric references to words (e.g. *what's this,* as in (28)), so that pupils know what word the teacher is actually looking for. As in pupils' requests for word-to-meaning clarifications, it was also shown that pupils hardly ever request the floor in a frontal teaching situation when asking for a word of which they know the meaning (i.e. meaning-to-word mapping initiated by pupils).

Furthermore, especially extracts (29) and (30), as examples of meaning-to-word clarifications in SUB sequences, have shown that metapragmatic negotiations on meaning may indeed pursue a higher goal: the clarification of a grammar point. This finding will be resumed in the summary of the analysis chapters 5-9 in chapter 10 by suggesting a hierarchical structure of metapragmatics in the classroom.

Finally, technical limitations, which restrict claims for metapragmatic work when pupils address their teachers off the main floor, are also the reason why the recordings of the lessons do not render sufficiently reliable data to make claims for metapragmatic work between pupils in the back of the class.

Chapter 7: Playing-on-Word Metapragmatics
you're not a motherfucker – you're a fatherfucker

7.1 Broad Introduction to Subcategories

Before analysing examples of metapragmatic work labelled "language play" or "playing on words" (used interchangeably) in the subchapters 7.2 and 7.3, I wish to make some introductory comments in order to place this category in relation to chapters 5 and 6. First of all, lesson sequences where either teachers or pupils engage in language play are relatively rare compared to form or meaning metapragmatics, already analysed in the previous chapters. Additionally, I will show that the introduction to this analytical category given in chapter 4 does not cover the whole range of metapragmatic work on language play found in my data. The two lesson extracts presented there (i.e. (C2) and (C3), see pp 69ff) show instances where language is being used in a playful way on the basis of the lexical difference created when changing it in a certain way. As for (C2), the pupil's metapragmatic input was identified as his reaction to the teacher's request for the class to work on a dialogue but in groups of threes. The pupil therefore suggests calling it a *trialogue* instead. With (C3), I pointed out that teachers may in fact shift to such a metafloor as well, in the example given by taking up a pupil's mistake (i.e. the mispronunciation of the month *May*) and using it to create a Swiss German phrase of warning.

On the surface level, these two examples differ with regard to one straightforward characteristic, i.e. if the teacher or the pupil engages in metapragmatic work on language play. I will incorporate this distinction and therefore analyse teachers' metapragmatic work for language play in 7.2 and pupils' efforts in 7.3. Within these two subchapters, however, another distinction must be made. Having mentioned extracts (C2) and (C3), emphasising the nature of the language play being based on the lexical shift created, I will show that language play in the lessons observed cannot only be assigned to such lexical variation. Therefore, the above-mentioned nature of such language play will be given particular attention. This linguistic approach is reflected in the subdivision of both teachers' and pupils' language play into sequences that follow such a lexical shift (i.e. + meaning shift) and some that consist of language play achieved differently (i.e. - meaning shift). In addition, I will also argue that teachers' or pupils' language play does not have to be triggered by a preceding language mistake, which can already be seen in the sample extract (C2) in chapter 4.

Additionally, as playing on words often co-occurs with other metapragmatic categories, this chapter also contributes to classroom metapragmatics understood as an overall hierarchical system (developed explicitly in chapter 10). Finally, in 7.4, the findings for playing-on-word metapragmatics will be summarised again.

7.2 T POW

7.2.1 General Findings

Dealing with teachers' playing on words first (i.e. T POW), 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 show how they do so by either applying or not applying a lexical shift. It must be stated that there are three classes, i.e. both A-track classes in Alpegg and Stätten, as well as the B-track class in Stätten, where no single example of a teacher playing on words has been found. In the remaining B and C tracks in Alpegg and the C track in Stätten, the following general observations can be made. Whereas teachers' language play in Alpegg is extremely rare and is achieved through a lexical shift (i.e. extracts (1) and (2)), the teacher in the C-track class in Stätten is the only one in this data who frequently plays on words and in fact does so by not only changing the meaning of words (as in extracts (3) and (4)). Furthermore, he plays on certain pupils' random comments in a different way (i.e. extracts (5) and (6)). Apart from the last two extracts shown, all teachers' language-play efforts develop on the basis of a language mistake previously produced by a pupil.

7.2.2 +Meaning Shift

Extracts (1)-(4) show examples where teachers switch to a metapragmatic level in their language play by taking up a pupil's mistake and changing it in order to create a different meaning. Extract (1), as the only instance where the B-track teacher in Alpegg engages in language play, has already been discussed as (C3) in chapter 4. Nevertheless, Ms Moser's language play of changing Salome's incorrect pronunciation of the month *May* into her Swiss German phrase of warning (i.e. *mai mai* Swiss German for 'be careful', **in bold**), is printed again.

(1)

Salome: the thirteenth ehm Mai (/ma**ɪ**/)

Moser: the thirteenth Mai? (/ma**ɪ**/, REPEATS GERMAN PRONUNCIATION) .. what is that? … Michaela (WHO RAISES HER HAND)

Michaela: the fourteenth of Mai (/ma**ɪ**/)

Moser: the thirteenth of *Mai* (/ma**ɪ**/) .. **mai mai** (/ma**ɪ**/ /ma**ɪ**/ SIBYLLE RAISES HER HAND, MOSER SIGNALS NON-VERBALLY)

Sibylle: May (/me**ɪ**/)

Based, as it is, on a pupil's grammar mistake, extract (1) suggests that Ms Moser applies her language play within an overall grammar agenda. The fact that the stretch finishes with Sibylle pronouncing the month correctly, supports the claim that the teacher follows an overall grammar goal. In extract (2), the teacher also bases his metapragmatic language play on a pronunciation mistake by a pupil, but in a different way. The sequence is taken from the second lesson in the weakest academic track in Alpegg, where the teacher corrects pupils' homework task of matching famous faces to the corresponding names. In the sequence printed below, the famous person to be talked about is Marie Curie and the teacher collects additional information about Curie that pupils have in written form on the worksheet for each famous person.

(2)

Boris: she she was the first woman who she who was scientist

Stocker: she was scientist yes

Boris: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) was ist das?

Stocker: scientist wissenschaftlerin .. naturwissenschaftlerin

Px: husband (PRONOUNCES /U/)

Stocker: husband (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION) the **hu=sband** (/huːSBæND) .. the husband (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION) is e=m a word we should know .. Ardita

Ardita: ehemann

Stocker: yes ehemann .. ehemann husband

Patrick: ehemaa

Stocker: **mmh .. that's not the= house band at home mmh the husband** (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

Boris mentions that Marie Curie was the first woman who was a scientist. The information given about Curie on the worksheet, however, only mentions that she was a scientist, which explains why Stocker only acknowledges that part of Boris' statement. Boris claims the floor again and establishes a metalevel on meaning, asking his teacher in Standard German what a *scientist* is. This shows that Boris has merely read out the sentence on the worksheet without knowing the meaning of the word *scientist*. So far, this sequence can be seen as a pupil-initiated word-to-meaning vocabulary clarification on the meaning metafloor found especially frequently in this C track in Alpegg. Then, however, an unidentified pupil (i.e. Px) mispronounces the word *husband*, which triggers Stocker to provide the correct pronunciation instantly, as well as exaggerating the pupil's mispronunciation (**in bold**). With the repetition of Px's mispronounced word, as becomes clear in Stocker's last sentence in (2), he already responds on a metafloor other than meaning. He finally translates the compounds of the mispronounced word *husband* (i.e. /huːs/ and /bænd/) into English 'house' for /huːs/ and 'band' for /bænd/, which shows that he plays on Px's additional meaning, created if understood as a word in Swiss German (**in bold**).

Extract (2) thus resembles extract (1) in that the teacher also develops a language-play metafloor on the basis of a pupil's pronunciation mistake. However, whereas the teacher in (1) applies such metafloor in order to trigger a pupil's correction of the mistake, the teacher in (2) only plays on the mispronunciation once he has provided the correct pronunciation. Therefore, despite the fact that both teachers' metapragmatic language play has its origins in a grammar mistake, it is only in (1) where the teacher directs pupils to a playing-on-word metafloor with the intention of eliciting the correction of the mistake.

Extracts (3)-(6) are the last sequences that are discussed for teachers' playing-on-word efforts and are all produced by the C-track teacher in Stätten. As mentioned in 7.2.1, he is the only teacher who incorporates such language play frequently in his classroom interaction with pupils. In both extracts (3) and (4), he achieves his language play through a shift in meaning of the word or phrase produced. Therefore, these two extracts can be linked to extracts (1) and (2) discussed previously.

Extract (3) below is taken from the first lesson, where the teacher collects from pupils random fictional sentences, asking them what tense is used and also instructing them to turn the sentences into other tenses. In this case, the pupil's sentence is *I'm writing a card.* As the pupil pronounces *writing* as *riding* (i.e. /d/ instead of /t/), Mr Sieber comments on the metapragmatic level of language play, as shown below.

(3)
Sieber: writing (PRONOUNCED /t/) .. mit T .. riding heisst .. reiten .. **du reitest nicht auf einer karte .. wenn du eine karte schreibst** ..okay .. okay .. I was … (SIEBER WRITES IT ON THE BLACKBOARD) I was writing a card .. okay .. now zu diesen ing formen .. wie macht man diese ing formen?

As in (1) and (2), the teacher's language play is triggered by a pupil's pronunciation mistake. As in (2) earlier, the teacher develops such language play by first establishing a focus-on-meaning metafloor (i.e. *writing mit T .. riding heisst .. reiten* and in (2), Stocker's discussion with Ardita). His metapragmatic comment (**in bold**) plays on the pupil's pronunciation mistake and the changed meaning of the sentence if *writing* is pronounced as *riding.* The development from a focus-on-meaning metafloor to a language-play sequence can be found in (2) and (3), with the difference that in (3), the actual language play is produced in Standard

German. In addition, despite the fact that in (2) and (3) the teachers give a language-play input with an overall grammar agenda (i.e. based on pupils' pronunciation mistakes), it has already been mentioned above that it is only in extract (1) that the teacher elicits a grammatical correction from the pupil.

In extract (4) again, the teacher establishes a language-play metafloor on the basis of a pupil's grammar mistake. Like (1)-(3), extract (4) is an overall grammar sequence. The teacher explains to pupils that in the model sentence *where did you go last time,* there is an auxiliary verb (i.e. *did*), as well as what he calls *a second verb* (i.e. *go*). He asks what the second verb is and a pupil incorrectly identifies the question word *where*. This triggers the following exchange.

(4)
Meral (WHO RAISES HER HAND): where
Sieber: where nein achtung where heisst wo
Endrit (WHO RAISES HIS HAND QUICKLY): a=h sie
Sieber: **achtung moment schnell sch= .. du hast fast recht where ohne H heisst war**
Dardana: go
Sieber: go .. perfect Dardana

Sieber, as he does in extract (3) and Stocker in extract (2), initiates a playing-on-word sequence by redirecting the overall grammar focus to a meaning metafloor. His phrase in Standard German, *where nein achtung where heisst wo* ('where no be careful where means wo'), shows Meral that she has not identified the second verb but the question word instead. Sieber in the **bold sentence** then plays on the question word *where* by suggesting that Meral is not completely wrong because if one reads the word without the 'h', *where* would become the verb *were*. Sieber finally succeeds in eliciting the correct response. However, it is highly questionable if his metapragmatic playing-on-word sequence has supported Dardana in identifying *go* as the second verb. Sieber's assessing of a pupil's incorrect labelling effort as semi-correct (i.e. *fast recht*) is per se difficult to comprehend, and even more so is his identifying of the common denominator between what he calls the second verb and the link made to where without the 'h'.

Extracts (1)-(4) have shown that teachers may play on pupils' grammar mistakes, thus pursuing an overall grammar agenda. On this language-play metafloor, all teachers create a different meaning on the basis of the identified mistakes made by the pupils. It has also been shown that, apart from Ms Moser in extract (1), they do so only after a meaning metafloor has been established.

7.2.3 -Meaning Shift

The following two extracts show that teachers may also play on words by neither basing it on pupils' language mistakes nor achieving the playful effect by changing the meaning of a previous statement, as in the extracts discussed earlier. This type of language play has only been found in the C track in Stätten, where Mr Sieber switches to the metafloor of language play more frequently than any other teacher observed. Both extracts (5) and (6) are taken from the first lesson. In (5), the discussion revolves around the recording of the lesson and in (6), it develops from a teacher's instruction to do a group activity within a certain amount of time.

(5)
Px: sie kamera
Sieber: sch= .. ja es ist eine kamera hier
Px: versteckti kamera
Sieber: **sch= .. nein sie ist nicht versteckt .. ihr seht sie ja alle**

(6)
Sieber: irgendeinen satz schreiben .. you've got .. two minutes .. zwei minuten
Endrit: zvill .. ei minutä
Px: zwei?
Sieber: **ihr dürft auch zwei sätze schreiben**

Mr Sieber in (5) and (6) moves to a metapragmatic floor of language play by taking up pupils' comments that have nothing to do with grammar. Therefore, neither of the metapragmatic comments **in bold** can be linked to any designated aim of language form (note in (1)-(3), the language play is based on a pronunciation mistake, and in (4), on the misidentification of a verb). As for most metapragmatic comments in the C track in Alpegg, Mr Sieber uses Standard German.

The occurrence of this type of teacher's language play in that particular class only, must be interpreted within the context of overall classroom dynamics. Mr Sieber is the only teacher in my data who accepts and tolerates pupils giving answers without being granted the floor explicitly. Therefore, it is not surprising that pupils' off-subject input, such as comments about the camera or about a teacher's instruction as in (5) and (6), are more frequently found than in the other classes. This may explain why teachers' language play of this type has not been found in the other classes (i.e. similar off-subject comments rarely occur), but of course fails to explain why Mr Sieber plays on these off-subject comments without any apparent language goal being achieved.

7.3 P POW

7.3.1 General Findings

Before distinguishing between +-meaning shift for pupils' playing on words as well, I would like to make a few general comments. All six extracts that I will present in this subchapter share two characteristics. First of all, and this is the primary reason for grouping them in 7.3, it is the pupils, who engage in a metapragmatic floor of language play in one way or another. Secondly, these instances all take place off the main floor, i.e. not between a teacher and a pupil in front of the whole class. In other words, in the recorded sequences, pupils play with words when talking to each other in a group sequence, addressing their teachers in group sequences, or when working individually. In two extracts (i.e. (8) and (12)), pupils' comments are made in a frontal teaching sequence, albeit by pupils who do not hold the speaking floor. This general observation has an important impact on the interpretative weight that these extracts carry. As mentioned when interpreting pupils' vocabulary clarifications on the meaning metafloor in chapter 6, the fixed camera position, recording all frontal discourse between teachers and pupils, does not make it possible to claim full coverage of interaction off that main speaking floor. Consequently, the extracts presented below must be interpreted as the ones that I was able to record given the limited technical possibilities, and do not represent all the pupils' language play in my data. Nevertheless, the examples found permit the identification of some recurring patterns that I will present in the next two subchapters.

7.3.2 +Meaning Shift

As for language play by pupils in Alpegg based on a meaning shift, only extract (7) has been recorded. It is taken from the first lesson in the C-track class. The dialogue between Klemens and Odette is incomplete, but still shows how Klemens introduces a playing-on-word metafloor in a vocabulary-checking activity.

(7)
Klemens: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) A D (LETTERS PRONOUNCED IN SWISS GERMAN)
Odette: wa?
Klemens: A D
Odette: mmh?
Klemens: also A D in chlammärä anno domini
Odette: anno do=mini?
Klemens: domini (THEN LAUGHS) .. **nüd domina** … nüüt

Klemens asks Odette about the abbreviation *A.D.* for 'anno domini', translated on the vocabulary list into German 'nach Christus'. In this exercise type, pupils are asked to translate words by their partners. Klemens therefore expects Odette to give the answer 'nach Christus', on the metapragmatic level of meaning. As she struggles, Klemens also provides an explanation for *A.D.*, i.e. *anno domini*, which is written on the vocabulary list that he uses to test Odette's vocabulary knowledge. Odette still fails to provide an appropriate translation, and repeats *anno domini.* Klemens, who repeats *domini* himself, plays on the Latin word by changing the last letter and suggesting that it is not a *domina,* i.e. not a dominatrix, as a dominant woman, with clear sexual connotations (**in bold**). The remaining part of the dialogue has not been recorded in sufficient quality to render reliable transcription material.

In extract (7), Klemens alludes to the similarity between *domini* and *domina* and therefore plays on the change of meaning created. This type of language play, i.e. +meaning shift, has been identified in 7.2 already. In addition, Klemens, as the teachers in all but extract (1) for meaning-shift, playing-on-word sequences, develops such language play by first introducing a meaning metafloor.

In Stätten, examples of +meaning shift language play by pupils have been recorded in two sequences of the A track. Whereas the first sequence has already been discussed in order to introduce this category in chapter 4 (see (C2)), extract (8) shows another example where a pupil constructs a language-play metafloor by changing the meaning of a word. It is taken from the first lesson, where pupils work in two groups and have to explain certain words to each other. Michele, in (8) below, tries to explain the word *beach,* and chooses a skateboard shop called *beach mountain* to hint at the target word.

(8)
Michele: aso ähm in Zurich there is a skate shop and its name is (CLEARS HIS VOICE THREE TIMES) mountain
Px1: mmh … (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Px2: beach
Grell: yes … that was .. quite quick (WRITES BEACH ON THE BLACKBOARD)
Nico: **bitch mountain** (SOME PUPILS GRIN)

After an unidentified pupil correctly produces the target word *beach* and the teacher has given positive feedback, Nico plays on the similarity between *beach* and *bitch,* with an apparent change in meaning (**in bold**). Again, the language play develops from a focus-on-meaning sequence and, interestingly, also carries some sexual connotation. Extracts (7) and (8) therefore show similar efforts by pupils to direct a meaning sequence to a language-play metafloor, achieved through a shift in meaning. Recollecting the meaning-shift extracts analysed for the teachers (i.e. extracts (1)-(4)), I would like to stress the main difference. Whereas teachers seem to develop a meaning-shift language play via focus-on-meaning sequences on the basis of an overall grammar focus, the two extracts discussed here suggest that pupils do not pursue a grammar aim at all.

7.3.3 -Meaning Shift

Extracts (9) and (10) are playing-on-word sequences found in my data for Alpegg, where pupils move to such metafloor in a different way compared to (7) and (8). I will show that extract (9) also consists of a language play sequence with a shift in meaning. Nevertheless, it is primarily chosen to show how pupils engage in a non-meaning-shift, playing-on-word exchange with each other. Extract (9) is taken from the B track, where a group of pupils work

on creating a vocabulary list for a play that they are going to act out in front of the class at some later stage.

(9)

Daniela: have you got a piece of paper please (TO SIBYLLE, WHO LAUGHS WHEN RESEARCHER PLACES MINIDISC RECORDER ON THE TABLE)

Sibylle: wait please

Daniela: **I need a piece of paper please …** (SOMEHOW RHYTHMIC INTONATION) **yeah [that's] a good piece of paper please** (BOTH LAUGH)

Sibylle: [here]

Sibylle: **please please .. you're welcome**

Daniela: thanks (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) much better

Sibylle: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Daniela: ja your motherfucker

Alex: hä? .. i wür uufpassä

Daniela: ja=

Sibylle: wa es meint [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]

Px: [ps= .. ruhig]

Daniela: you you've got to try to speak English .. somebody understand it .. baby boy

Alex: you you=

Daniela: yes .. baby face .. no no Alex .. I like you .. **you're not a motherfucker .. you're a fatherfucker** (LAUGHS)

Extract (9) starts with Daniela requesting a piece of paper from Sibylle. After Sibylle's response *wait please*, Daniela rephrases her request and uses exaggerated rhythmic intonation (**in bold**). She then addresses Sibylle, who offers her a blank sheet, and comments on the piece of paper (**in bold, too**). Sibylle replies with her phrase *please please, you're welcome* (**in bold**).

It is argued here that Daniela, with her rephrased request and exaggerated intonation, moves from the propositional first level of discourse to a metafloor. She indicates her switch through an unexpected rhythmic change. In addition, by repeating the word *please* in y*eah that's a good piece of paper please*, Daniela emphasises that her intention has moved from the simple request for a piece of paper to a metalevel of language play. Sibylle's response, characterised

by an unusual repetition of *please* as well, shows that she has complied with Daniela regarding such metafloor. Extract (9) shows that pupils may engage in language play on a metalevel by not only changing a word, i.e. not creating the playful effect through a shift in meaning. Instead, they may achieve a language-play level by altering the intonation of a sentence or repeating words in an unusual way. Interestingly, the same extract also consists of a language-play effort by Daniela, again on the basis of a shift in meaning. In her comment addressed to Alex, *you're not a motherfucker .. you're a fatherfucker* (**in bold**), she underpins her meaning-shift language play with a sexual connotation, as seen in (7) and (8) earlier.

Such language play, without any intentional shift in meaning, can be found in extract (10) as well, recorded in the C track of Alpegg. It is taken from the same classroom activity as extract (7), i.e. pupils check on each other's vocabulary knowledge with a vocabulary list linked to the course book topic of *The Great Fire of London*.

(10)
Boris: du häsch doch mal wellä .. du häsch doch mal wellä üs uufschribä .. **take a smile take a sheep --** (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) du häsch doch ämal die ganz ziit sonen blödä spruch uufgschribä uf englisch
Ardita: uf English? (ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION)
Boris: ja=
Ardita: **no risk --**
Boris: **no risk no fun**
Ardita: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) vum französischä (ARDITA IS LOOKING FOR IT SOMEWHERE IN HER NOTES)

Boris asks Ardita about a *spruch* (i.e 'saying', 'phrase') that he remembers Ardita writing down at some earlier stage, and tries to produce parts of it that he remembers (**in bold**). Ardita asks if the phrase is in English and Boris answers in the affirmative. Ardita then produces the truncated phrase *no risk* -- (**in bold**), which Boris completes to *no risk no fun* (**in bold, too**). Ardita, interestingly, mentions the language French as well, leaving it open as to whether the phrase *no risk no fun* is the one Boris actually had in mind (looking at his initial suggestion, *take a smile take a sheep,* one would rather doubt it).

Extract (10) shows that pupils may also establish a non-meaning-shift, language-play metafloor by not playing on intonation and repetition of phrases as in (9), but by experimenting with the language on the basis of a phrase they vaguely remember and try to reproduce.

Having analysed two examples of pupils playing on words in Alpegg without a shift in meaning, I will present non-meaning-shift, playing-on-word sequences recorded in Stätten below. Firstly, extract (11) refers to two pupils engaging in such language play in the B-track class. Secondly, I will present extract (12) as a corresponding form of language play found in the C track in Stätten.

(11)
Fatlum: answered (READ AS IN GERMAN /ANSWE:RED/)
Lulzim: häh?
Fatlum: answered ja (WITH THE SAME PRONUNCIATION
Lulzim: answered? (REPEATS FATLUM'S PRONUNCIATION)
Fatlum: yes of course .. I'm sure .. I am **sure (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION /SU:RE/)**
Lulzim: **sur (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION /SU:R/)**
Fatlum: **sure (GERMAN PRONUNCIATION /SU:RE/)**
Keller: bla bla bla bla

Fatlum and Lulzim, in a past participle grammar exercise, tell each other how to write the word *answered*. Fatlum therefore reads out the word as pronounced in German. Lulzim repeats the word and keeps Fatlum's pronunciation in order to double-check if he has understood Fatlum correctly, which Fatlum confirms with the phrase *yes of course .. I'm sure* (pronouncing the word *sure* correctly). What follows is an interesting switch to a language-play metafloor. Whereas Fatlum applies the German pronunciation of the past participle *answered* to ensure that his partner writes the word correctly, his equally German pronunciation of the word *sure* (i.e. /su:re/) **in bold**), does not have an apparent grammar-oriented purpose. Lulzim himself, starts experimenting with the pronunciation of the word *sure* (i.e. (/su:r/) before Fatlum mispronounces the word intentionally again (**both in bold**). Keller rounds off the sequence by verbalising the chatty and non-goal oriented metapragmatic language play of the word *sure* between Fatlum and Lulzim.

Extract (11) has shown that pupils who engage in non-meaning-shift, playing-on-word sequences may also do so by merely mispronouncing words intentionally. In extract (12), the last playing-on-word sequence presented, pupils in the C-track class in Stätten produce incorrect English words on purpose as well, but arguably show even more experimenting power than Fatlum and Lulzim in extract (11). Extract (12) is taken from the first lesson and shows a sequence in which the teacher, with an overall grammar orientation, wants to emphasise that there is only one –ing form in English. He first asks for the –ing form of *take* and then wants to know the –ing form for *took*. He finally tells his class explicitly that there is only one –ing form in English. Extract (12) shows only a short extract from this overall lesson sequence, albeit with interesting language play from the pupils, on the basis of the teacher's question about the –ing form of *took*. It must be noted that the teacher in this lesson sequence tolerates pupils who contribute without raising their hands. As a result, pupils' suggestions for the –ing form of *took* could not be assigned to individual names.

(12)
Px1: tuuing
Px2: tooking
Px3: took
Px4: tooked (/tu:ked/)
Px5: tooked (/tu:ked/)
Px6: **took took**
Px7: **took a ting**
Sieber: sch= .. ing form von took ist immer noch taking

The suggestions of Px1-Px5 can still be interpreted as potentially serious contributions of possible –ing forms of the verb *took*. However, Px6 and Px7's answers certainly cannot (**in bold**). Whereas one could argue that Px6 might have produced the words *took took* as a playing-on-word sequence imitating a knocking sound, it is impossible to make any such claim for Px7's phrase *took a ting.* Nevertheless, they show some language play that completes the picture of pupils engaging on such a metafloor without a shift in meaning.

7.4 Summary of Findings

I have shown that both teachers and pupils occasionally switch to a language-play metapragmatic level and do so in different ways. As for teachers, data has suggested that such language play only frequently occurs in one class, the C-track class in Stätten. Additionally, in extracts (1)-(4), I have related to one possibility of language-play metapragmatics, i.e. teachers taking up pupils' mistakes and changing them in one way or another in order to create a different meaning. Data also suggests that when teachers play on words by applying a shift in meaning, as in the first four extracts, they do so by pursuing an overall grammar goal. An example is extract (3), where the teacher plays on the pupil's mispronunciation of *writing* (as *riding*), with the apparent intention of correcting a pupil's grammar mistake. It has been shown as well that teachers who apply language play by means of meaning shift, often do so together with a focus-on-meaning metafloor. Extract (3) serves as a good example again where the teacher in his phrase *writing mit T .. riding heisst reiten .. du reitest ja nicht auf einer karte* ('writing with a T, riding means reiten, you don't ride on a card'), first opens a meaning metafloor before moving to the metafloor of language play. In addition, the C-track teacher in Stätten frequently moves to a metapragmatic floor of language play by taking up pupils' comments that have no grammar orientation whatsoever. Extracts (5) and (6) have shown that the teacher plays on words by not changing the meaning of words based on a pupil's mistake, but by altering a whole phrase so as to create a humorous effect (as is (5), where he comments on a pupil's input *hidden camera* with *no it's not hidden as you can all see it*). Finally, in all teachers' language play sequences, it is only the teachers who move to such a metafloor. Their language play must therefore be seen as an input rather than an initiation to a language-play exchange with pupils.

All extracts collected for pupils' language play were recorded off the main floor, i.e. not taking place between a pupil and the teacher in front of the whole class. As mentioned in chapter 6, classroom recordings were mainly targeted at front-stage conversations. In other words, the camera and its microphone recorded all conversations organised by the teacher addressed to the class as a whole. Therefore, the recorded playing-on-word sequences (7)-(12) must not be mistaken for all language-play sequences that occurred off the main floor, but be seen as examples that help to draw an overall picture of pupils' language play in my setting. As a result, I have not interpreted the sequences according to their occurrence in the different classes but taken a more collective stance and analysed them on the basis of recurring patterns. Extracts (7) and (8) show that pupils also engage in language play by changing a

word in order to create a different meaning. Compared to teachers doing so, however, pupils do not pursue an overall grammar goal but, interestingly, create sexual connotations in their language-play efforts (even found in the second part of extract (9)). Finally, pupils in extracts (9)-(12) show that they sometimes play on words by experimenting with the language. They may repeat words, exaggerate intonation and mispronounce or even produce words incorrectly on purpose. In extracts (9)-(12), i.e. the sequences labelled –meaning shift, language play is not restricted to the pupil initiating it, but such metafloor is achieved in collaboration with a communicative other.

Chapter 8: Norm-of-Interaction Metapragmatics
on ne parle pas français maintenant

8.1 Broad Introduction to Subcategories

The next category that I will focus on is called "norms of interaction". In chapter 4, I established a link to Ciliberti and Anderson (2007), who have also described such norms in an educational environment. Their focus on primary and university contexts will be complemented with the data from secondary schools in this study. I also argued that my understanding of classroom norms expressed in class is narrower than theirs. They contend that metapragmatic discourse on norms of interaction is based on "a common understanding of the activity they are engaged in" and furthermore argue that expressed classroom norms "maintain and modify the disciplinary, participatory, instructional and intertextual frames on which this understanding is based" (2007: 146, see quote in chapter 4, p 71). In the primary school context, they mainly focus on "participatory" elements and highlight phrases such as *shall we repeat the seasons a bit since Elisa doesn't remember them,* within their broad understanding of classroom norms. In the university context, they zoom in on agreement/disagreement expressed and also consider such statements as being metapragmatic about classroom norms. In this study, however, both input on participation and agreement/disagreement are understood as non-meta and remaining on the propositional first level of discourse. One can argue that teachers who initiate an activity by a phrase such as *shall we repeat xyz,* or comment on a pupil's statement with a phrase such as *I don't fully agree with you,* simply organise ongoing speech on the first level of discourse. By way of contrast, it is the disciplinary aspect mentioned by Ciliberti and Anderson on which I place the main focus in my analysis of classroom norms. In addition, I will show that especially the foreign language lessons bring about language-specific interaction within my understanding of classroom norms that Ciliberti and Anderson have not been able to identify in their research contexts.

I would like to add a few general observations before analysing extracts from all six classes that deal with the above-mentioned norms of interaction. First of all, I have found examples for norms of interaction in all classes, but identified some variation in terms of explicitness of the disciplinary norm itself. Except for one class, the majority of norms centre on comments made by the teacher about the use/non-use of the target language English. However, the

underlying norm, i.e. *you have to talk in English in the classroom,* is hardly ever stated explicitly. Nevertheless, I have decided to interpret more implicit references to this norm as metapragmatic as well. In other words, I contend that the above-mentioned norm, expressed as a teacher's instruction such as *speak English,* carries equal normative weight. Findings in all six classes will be discussed in 8.2.

In addition, in most of the classes, teachers also refer to classroom norms that do not revolve around the choice of the target language. An example is a teacher's input to the class *I cannot always pick Massimo*, which can be interpreted as an implicit reference to the classroom norm *all pupils are supposed to contribute to classroom discussion*. Relevant extracts are presented and discussed in 8.3.

Furthermore, the teacher in one class in particular reprimands pupils at great length for being talkative. My first reaction when analysing such examples was to interpret them as purely organisational and non-meta, taking place on the propositional first level of discourse. As I previously considered classroom organisation as non-meta, arguing that teachers' input such as *take the next sentence* remains in the here and now from a teacher's classroom perspective, comments made about chatterboxes may indeed be seen as non-meta too. Nevertheless, I have come to believe that, whereas an underlying norm in my narrow understanding of the category for *take the next sentence* cannot be discerned or simply does not carry socialising and disciplinary qualities, (e.g. *one always has to take the next sentence*??), the underlying norm of teachers' statements about excessive chatting in class can clearly be formulated as *one has to be quiet unless being granted the floor by the teacher*. Therefore, I have finally regarded teachers' statements about talkative pupils as being metapragmatic all the same. Arguing that such comments implicitly refer to the socialising norm of conforming to teacher-guided distribution of speaking rights, I will discuss relevant extracts in 8.3.

I will also show in both 8.2 and 8.3 that it is primarily the teacher who provides a metapragmatic input related to a classroom norm. Pupils rarely initiate a metapragmatic level of classroom norms, nor do they frequently reply on such a level established by the teacher. Finally, I will provide a summary of findings in 8.4.

8.2 Language-Specific Norms of Interaction

In the following section, I will present extracts dealing with language-choice norms of interaction for each class. I have not found clear-cut patterns regarding norms expressed by the teacher in front of the whole class or when talking to a pupil in a group sequence. As far as group discussions are concerned, I once more do not claim to present the whole picture of occurring norms of interaction, as some, but by no means all, of such discussions off the main floor were recorded. The analysis should therefore be seen as a reconstruction of how classroom norms can be addressed by teachers and pupils both in front-stage conversation and individual discussions unconnected with the main floor (extracts (1)-(8) for Alpegg and (9)-(13) for Stätten).

In the strongest academic track in Alpegg, the teacher hardly ever reminds pupils to use the target language English. This may be due to his tolerance of pupils' contributions that are not expressed in English as, clearly, some pupils use German or Swiss German in class. On the other hand, in both lessons the teacher very closely guides pupils in their use of the English language by asking them, for example, to read an English text to each other, matching English definitions to English words or repeating phrases after him, which also contributes to relatively few pupils' statements being in any language other than English.

In extract (1), Mr Schwaller, at the very beginning of the first lesson, nevertheless refers to the norm of using English in the classroom. As can be seen below, he does not react to a pupil using a language other than English. With his phrase *in English* (**in bold**), the teacher marks the official beginning of the lesson and, at the same time, reminds pupils of the prevalent norm of using English in the classroom, without mentioning it explicitly.

(1)
Schwaller: heute ist es gut .. dass ihr alle da seid .. morgen .. Markus ein bisschen später den rest rechne ich rechtzeitig hier .. damit das alles klappt .. **in English** .. I would like to go on with the next lesson .. so we started with Unit Nr. 4 .. lesson 4

I have argued above that the reason for few pupils' contributions in German or Swiss German might be the teacher's close guidance of pupils in using prefabricated phrases. Extract (2) must be interpreted within this context. Mr Schwaller instructs his class to read aloud a text about a soap opera. He comments on pupils' use of English twice and the extract below shows one case of input by the teacher. Despite the fact that pupils' attempts to use English when reading an English text is not extraordinary, the teacher still compliments the class on the English language use and, implicitly, evokes the classroom norm of using English in the classroom (**in bold)**.

(2)
Schwaller: right .. can you please take your books .. page fifty again … and ehm .. you read the text one aloud .. a last time please everybody for himself herself
(Ps READ THE TEXT ALOUD INDIVIDUALLY, 30 SECONDS)
Schwaller: **it's perfect it's good English sounds good**

Apart from a second example of input, very similar to the one shown in (2), neither teacher nor pupils have referred to English norms in any other way. The picture for the B track in Alpegg, by way of contrast, looks more varied regarding norms expressed about the use of English in the classroom. Extracts (3)-(5) show how the teacher may either refer to the norm of using English in class as a question (i.e. (3)), in very reduced form (i.e. (4)), or by verbalising the norm more explicitly (i.e. (5)). The three extracts are displayed together below. Extract (3) is taken from a classroom discussion where the teacher collects facts about what some teenagers were doing on the basis of a fictional story in the course book. In extract (4), the teacher reminds a pupil to use English when talking to her about an off-subject topic (i.e. the pupil's new boyfriend). And in extract (5), the teacher requests two pupils to use English when working in a group and creating a vocabulary list.

(3)
Moser: and what's his job then?
Roger: he ähm he is the the the .. ähm reiseleiter
Moser: **yes .. how is that in English?** .. does anybody remember? .. he's the .. tour --?
Alex: guide
Moser: oh he's the tour guide .. exactly

(4)

Moser: what was Iwan doing? (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Daniela: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) gschlafä wahrschiindlich

Moser: **but in English**

Daniela: he was asleep or something

(5)

Alex: schriibs uuf

Gwendolin: du bisch gär nid de=r

Daniela: ahh muäsi vum Oliver=?

Gwendolin: bisch fruäh

Daniela: ja scheisse

Gwendolin: ja ne=

Daniela: ja scheisse

Moser: **hey Daniela and Gwendolin .. you shouldn't you shouldn't speak too much German**

Daniela: ye=h

Moser: especially words that you can say

The three extracts show that the teacher may refer to the norm of using English in the classroom in very different ways. And yet, in all the examples she enables pupils to switch from Swiss German to English. It must be noted that the norm of using English does not need to be expressed explicitly such as *you have to speak English in the classroom*. Instead, it may take the form of a question (i.e. (3)), be reduced to only three words (i.e. (4)), or expressed by being more explicit about what is not the norm (i.e. (5)). And finally, extract (3), which was used in chapter 6 to describe negotiations on the meaning metafloor (see chapter 6, extract (26), p 192), hints at a certain hierarchical structure between norms of interaction and metadiscussion on vocabulary. Having found out in chapter 6 that most pupils' requests regarding vocabulary clarification take place in German or Swiss German, I would like to stress that this may indeed trigger the teacher to insert into the overall metapragmatic sequence of meaning a metapragmatic input on the classroom norm of using English.

In this B-track class in Alpegg, I have also found one instance where a pupil refers to the norm of using English in class by addressing another pupil in a group sequence. It must be noted that this is the only such metapragmatic discourse between pupils that I have been able to record. It is particularly noteworthy that, in this group sequence where pupils work on the creation of a vocabulary list and predominantly communicate in Swiss German, the pupil actually expresses that norm in English. I showed extract (6) below in chapter 7 already when analysing playing-on-word metadiscourse (see chapter 7, extract (9), p 213). In order to determine if a link can be established between pupils' language play and Daniela's reference to the norm of using English in class, the language-play sequence as previously analysed is underlined, whereas Daniela's input on classroom norms is given **in bold.**

(6)

Daniela: have you got a piece of paper please? (TO SIBYLLE, WHO LAUGHS WHEN RESEARCHER PLACES MINDISC RECORDER ON THE TABLE)

Sibylle: wait please

Daniela: I need a piece of paper please … (SOMEHOW RHYTHMIC INTONATION) yeah
[that's] a good piece of paper please (BOTH LAUGH)

Sibylle: [here]

Sibylle: please please .. you're welcome

Daniela: thanks (INCOMPREHENSIBLE) much better

Sibylle: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Daniela: ja your motherfucker

Alex: hä? .. i wür uufpassä

Daniela: ja=

Sibylle: wa es meint [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]

Px: [ps= .. ruhig]

Daniela: **you you've got to try to speak English .. somebody understand it .. baby boy**

Alex: you you=

Daniela: yes .. baby face .. no no Alex .. I like you .. you're not a motherfucker .. you're a fatherfucker (LAUGHS)

It is argued that Daniela and Sibylle's language play in the first half of (6) and Daniela's language play at the end cannot directly be linked to the norm expressed by Daniela. First of all, the language-play sequences take place in English as well. Additionally, Daniela, in her reference to using English in class, addresses Alex, who is not involved in any language play in this extract. One might have to ask another question; why does playing on words and the arguably rare reference of pupils to using English (and this in English!!) occur in this particular sequence. Dividing the class into three groups, the teacher places one such group right in front of the tripod with the camcorder. It can thus be argued that in extract (6), which shows the beginning of this group sequence, pupils exaggerate their speech and engage in language play and English contributions on classroom norms, being fully aware of the camcorder recording them. If Daniela's *somebody understand it* in her reference to the language norm (**in bold**) is interpreted as s*omebody will watch and listen to this recording*, the awareness of being recorded can be made more explicit. This suggests that pupils indeed display some exaggerated form of speech.

As in the A track in Alpegg, hardly any norms of interaction expressed by either the teacher or pupils have been recorded in the C class. Having indicated a possible influence of the camcorder on pupils' discourse in the previous paragraph, I would like to consider such interference as well when analysing one of the few examples where the teacher refers to the classroom norm of using the target language English in his C-track class. Extract (7) shows the incompletely recorded interaction between the teacher and a pupil in a lesson sequence where pupils answer comprehension questions about the course book topic *The Great Fire of London*. Not being able to say what Boris thanks the teacher for, I would like to stress that Stocker reminds him to *say it in English* (**in bold**). Boris' exaggerated *tha=nk you* by lengthening the vowel creates a humorous effect as both Stocker and Boris start laughing. In the light of the general observation that a lot of pupils interact with their teacher in Swiss German (especially if not talking in front of the whole class as here), one can argue that the teacher is indeed influenced by the fact that the lesson is being recorded and thus refers to the norm of communicating in English.

(7)
Boris: dankä
Stocker: **say it in English**
Boris: tha=nk you (BOTH LAUGH)
Stocker: mmh .. you're welcome

Without placing extensive argumentative weight on the fact that teachers and pupils are fully aware of being recorded, I would like to add that extracts (6) and (7) must nevertheless be seen as salutary reminders of the fact that at any given time, both teachers and pupils know that their speech is being recorded and will be analysed by the researchers sitting in the back of the class.

As for pupils referring to the choice of the target language in the classroom, only two examples have been found. In both cases, they ask if they can use German to answer a question. In extract (8) below, Mr Stocker asks Mirjam why she believes Marie Curie is a famous person. Unable to respond in English, Mirjam asks if she may use German instead (**in bold**). Stocker agrees and Mirjam suggests that she has invented petrol (i.e. *ds benzin erfundä*). This extract is relevant for three reasons. First of all, the teacher's reaction to Mirjam's request to use German for the question (i.e. he starts laughing) may again suggest that it is not common in this class to ask that question, i.e. that pupils normally use Swiss German without asking if they are allowed to. Secondly, Mirjam does not distinguish between Standard German and Swiss German as she asks for permission to speak in German, but then uses Swiss German instead. And finally, Mirjam shows that instead of trying to use English for a question that she cannot base on prefabricated sentences, asking to switch to *German* might be the "line of least resistance" from her point of view.

(8)
Mirjam: **ehm can I ask in German? (STOCKER STARTS LAUGHING) .. please**
Stocker: okay
Mirjam: hät sie ds benzin erfundä?
Stocker: the petrol?
Mirjam: yes
Stocker: no (AGAIN LAUGHS)

After the analysis of Alpegg with very few examples of language-specific norms expressed in the A and C track and a more varied picture for the B-track class, I will proceed with examples found in Stätten as well. Especially in the A-track class, the teacher frequently relates to the target language use of English in the classroom. As in the B-track class of Alpegg, the teacher either expresses the norm explicitly (i.e. y*ou have to talk in English*), or makes pupils switch back to the target language English by referring to the norm in reduced form. Extract (9) below shows Ms Grell responding to a pupil's question about the organisation of a vocabulary introductory game. She does so only by hinting at the norm of using English, similar to the B-track teacher shown in extract (4) (**in bold**). However, it will be argued that extract (9) is chosen to complement the picture of language-specific reference to classroom norms for another reason.

(9)
Px: sie ich hanä frag ähm .. wäg --
Grell: **in English please**
Px: I have a question
Grell: yes
Px: sie chönt ichs ihrä is ohr sägä … ja .. suscht --
Grell: just try to give explanations

Extract (9) shows that a pupil being asked to use English in class may regard one single contribution in English sufficient and then switch back to Swiss German. From the pupil's point of view, this unidentified male pupil cleverly chooses the formulaic *I have a question* to satisfy the teacher's request and then addresses the teacher on the actual matter in Swiss German again. This reflects the general language use of pupils in the A track in Stätten, i.e. pupils use Swiss German in class regularly. As a result, Ms Grell frequently addresses her pupils regarding the correct language choice, as seen in (9).

Before I go on to give one further example found in this class, where a pupil refers to the target language use in class, I shall, in the next extract, show Ms Grell attempting to elicit English from pupils in a way not previously seen in any of the classes discussed so far.

(10)
Michele: sie chliini frag .. sie verdiänt mä sächs hundert netto oder brutto?
Grell: **I can't understand you**
Michele: ja we söli das sägä? (SHAKES HIS HEAD)

The discussion between Michele and his teacher is not fully recorded. It takes place off the main floor with numerous other conversations going on in a group sequence where pupils create a dialogue on the topic of au pairs. Nevertheless, Michele's reaction to Grell's *I can't understand you* shows that he is able to understand his teacher's input as an indirect reference to the norm of using English in class. Clearly, Michele shows the ability to identify his teacher's input on the metapragmatic level of classroom norms rather than an acoustic problem on the propositional level of talk organisation. This suggests that, depending on the explicitness of the norm expressed by the teacher, it is indeed the pupils who have to interpret the teacher's input as being metapragmatic about language choice. In this case, it can be assumed that Ms Grell has used such indirect references before, so that pupils know the normative potential of a question that could also be interpreted within the context of acoustic problems between discourse partners.

Extract (11) is the only one found where a pupil addresses the choice of classroom language in this B-track class in Stätten. It is taken from the beginning of the second recorded lesson and shows Alice, who asks her teacher as follows.

(11)
Grell: so pronounce it .. read it .. direct look up all the words and then you correct each other
Alice: **uf änglisch oder uf düütsch?**
Grell: English

Extract (11) suggests that the overall norm of using English in the classroom is not taken for granted by pupils as, for Alice, her teacher's instruction *and then you correct each other* fails to specify the choice of English explicitly.

In the B-track class, the teacher also refers to norms of interaction in a more or less explicit way. And yet, I will present two extracts which are unusual compared with what I have shown in the eleven previously analysed examples of negotiation over language choice. Extract (12) is taken from the second lesson, where the teacher reacts to Azita, who is chatting to Fatlum. The pupils do so off-subject, i.e. disregarding the grammatical subject of past simple forms.

(12)
Keller: Azita
Azita: ja
Keller: **if you want to talk .. talk English and not *ja* .. okay whatever it is it's *yes* and not *ja***
Fatlum: **ja= .. aha can we talk in English? .. e=hm über anything aso eifach --?**
Keller: **talk English yes yes okay**

First of all, this is the only extract in the whole set of data where a short discussion about the choice of language in class occurs. Keller suggests that *whatever it is* pupils talk about, they should do it in English rather than Swiss German (**in bold**). Instead of Azita, it is Fatlum, who responds on the established metapragmatic level of interactional norms. He double-checks whether he has understood his teacher correctly, i.e. if it is true that off-subject conversations are acceptable if carried out in the target language English (**in bold**). Keller finally answers in the affirmative (**in bold, too**). It must be noted that the teacher could also establish a metapragmatic level on norms of interaction on the basis of pupils' off-subject chatting (for non-language-specific norms of interaction, see 8.3). In fact, it can be assumed that this is what Fatlum has expected and therefore shows an initiative to find out which classroom norm is given more weight; the language-specific norm *use English in the classroom,* or the non-language-specific norm *don't chat*. According to Keller's answer, complying with the former norm justifies breaking the latter.

Extract (13) also carries exceptional status in the overall set of data. In no other class has any pupil been recorded using a language other than English, German or Swiss German. The teacher asks Azita to complete the gap of a course book sentence _____ *travelled by boat* for which the answer *Picasso did* is given. Instead of inserting the correct relative pronoun *who,* the pupil chooses the French second person plural pronoun *vous* to fill the gap and mispronounces the English verb *travelled* as well. This mistake may have its origin in Azita's

confusion over the similar pronunciation of English *who* and French *vous*. In dealing with norms of interaction in this chapter, I would like to zoom in on Keller's reaction (**in bold**). Rather than referring to the target language English, as seen in previous extracts (e.g. *but in English*), Keller chooses French herself to indicate that it is not French that should be spoken in class.

(13)
Keller: Azita next question
Azita: ehm .. vous tra - travail by boat? (INSTEAD OF WHO TRAVELLED)
Keller: **on ne parle pas français maintenant (Ps LAUGH) .. who --?**
Azita: vous .. trava - (LAUGHS) .. trava -
Keller: travelled
Azita: travelled ehm .. by --
Keller: boat yes

The teacher's reference to language-specific norms of interaction by adopting the non-official language used by the pupil to create a humorous effect is exceptional in this data. And yet, it shows another teacher's reaction to a pupil who uses a non-official language in class.

No language-specific norm of interaction has been identified in the C track in Stätten. In the context of overall classroom organisation, i.e. the teacher predominantly using Standard German to pupils when labelling tenses (lesson 1) or dealing with the past simple forms (lesson 2), the absence of references to the use of English in class is not surprising. By way of contrast, it is especially the non-language-specific norms that the teacher in the C class addresses when establishing a normative metapragmatic level. I will analyse this subcategory in 8.3, referring to all six classes of my set of data once more.

8.3 Non-Language-Specific Norms of Interaction

As mentioned in the introduction, in most classes, instances of metapragmatic work dealing with non-language-specific norms have been found in the presented data. I will identify two subgroups within this category. First of all, extracts (14)-(17) will revolve around teachers referring to general classroom norms such as raising one's hand in order to be given the floor

as a pupil. Additionally, extracts (18)-(20) will show that two teachers in my set of data have also addressed their pupils on the metapragmatic level of classroom norms by reprimanding them for chatting. As argued in the introduction, such discourse can be seen as going beyond the purely organisational level of discourse, as clearly, the underlying norm *be quiet in class unless being given the floor by the teacher* is addressed through phrases such as *please be quiet*. All in all, it must be noted that, apart from one teacher reprimanding students at great length for being chatty, non-language-specific norms of interaction, both general (i.e. (14)-(17)) or specifically dealing with talkative pupils (i.e. (18)-(20)), are very rare and by far less frequent than language-specific norms discussed in 8.2.

In Alpegg, only the teachers in the B-track and the C-track class refer to general classroom norms in the two lessons observed in each setting. Extract (14) shows the very beginning of lesson two, where the teacher addresses her class in order to remind pupils how the research team should be welcomed and greeted at the beginning of the lesson.

(14)
Moser: we have guests again this morning and **I hope you .. are friendly enough to .. greet them as well .. what do you say?**
Ps: [hello]
Ps: [good morning]
Moser: or?
Ps: good morning
Moser: that's better

The **bold** phrase above thus shows Ms Moser's attempt to instruct her class on the metapragmatic level of general classroom norms, i.e. rules of politeness. Multiple pupils (referred to as Ps) react to the teacher's satisfaction by suggesting two different ways of welcoming the guests in class. Extract (15), the only similar metapragmatic input in the C-track class in Alpegg, complements the presented focus on general norms of politeness. In this extract, Mr Stocker closes the lesson with an explicit request for pupils to say goodbye to the researchers.

(15)

Stocker: ja genau (BOTH LAUGH) .. next time … dankä vill mal än guätä … **say goodbye to all the guests** (Ps SHAKE HANDS WITH STOCKER AND RESEARCHERS)

As for non-language-specific norms of interaction found in Stätten, I will present two more general classroom norms in the A-track class. This will be followed by three extracts found in the remaining B and C tracks in Stätten, the only two classrooms where non-language specific norms on "chatting" were found and expressed by the teachers quite frequently.

In (16) below, Ms Grell, after showing the class an advertisement about au pairs, asks Nico to tell her what it is all about. As Mirko claims the floor as well (not recorded as such), the teacher explicitly tells him that it is Nico who has been given the right to speak. She thus implicitly refers to the general classroom norm that only one pupil should speak at a time in frontal classroom situations.

(16)

Nico: aso mmh .. they .. like to search person for ä= […] for ähm ähm French … in --

Grell: **[Mirko please it's Nico who speaks]**

In the last extract found in the A-track classroom in Stätten, Ms Grell mentions yet another general classroom norm, i.e. pupils have to raise their hands when claiming the floor. In the interaction leading to (17) below, Ms Grell asks pupils in her class to tell her what au-pair students have to do. Prompted by numerous comments from different pupils who have actually claimed the floor without raising their hands, the teacher explicitly mentions the relevant classroom norm; this has not been found in any other class so far. Interestingly, the teacher in this case combines such non-language-specific norm with a language-specific one (i.e. *you have to speak in English*), suggesting that the two types may indeed occur in combination.

(17)

Grell: **not .. just talking .. you can put up you hand and then I will listen to you (NICO PUTS UP HIS HAND NOW) .. okay .. you have to speak in English**

It should be noted, too, that the non-language-specific norms expressed by Ms Grell in (16) and (17) are certainly related as the teacher in the former extract could have reacted with the norm expressed in the latter one as well.

I will finally continue analysing a last subgroup of non-language-specific norms of interaction and have chosen one extract from track B and two from track C in Stätten. As previously mentioned, these are the only classrooms where teachers have established a metafloor in order to refer in different ways to the non-language-specific norm of not chatting in class. Whereas extract (18) from the B track shows the only such instance in that class, it must be stated that extracts (19) and (20) are two examples chosen from many such instances recorded in the C track. As these instances are very short, the three extracts are shown and discussed together.

(18)
Keller: **hey girls (RAISES HER INDEX FINGER)**

(19)
Sieber: **kannst nicht die klappe halten?**

(20)
Sieber: ihr könnt davor … okay sch= … **bist fertig?** (TO THE TWO PUPILS ON THE RIGHT CHATTING, NOT IN FRAME)
Px: was?
Sieber: **bist fertig?**
Px: mit was?
Sieber: **mit rumschauen und so ..** gut ..ahm .. ja Meral (WHO RAISES HER HAND)

As we can see in the extracts above, reference to the classroom norm of being quiet in class can be expressed in different ways. Ms Keller in (18) does so by simply addressing the girls chatting and supports her reference to the classroom norm with a non-verbal sign of warning. By way of contrast, Sieber in (19) addresses the talkative pupil directly. His rhetorical question in Standard German does not trigger a response by the pupil (a response such as *ja* would certainly be considered rude). In (20), however, Mr Sieber asks a question (*bist fertig*, 'are you finished') that cannot be interpreted as referring to the same classroom norm as (19) instantly. As a result, the talkative pupil (unidentified Px) wants to know what his teacher

means (*mit was,* 'with what') and only after Sieber's final input *mit rumschauen und so* ('with looking around') realises that his teacher actually wants him to be quiet. Interestingly, Sieber's concluding comment does not refer to the actual chatting of the pupil either but clearly is interpreted by the pupil as such.

8.4 Summary of Findings

8.2 and 8.3 have shown that the number of extracts found for both language-specific and especially non-language-specific norms expressed in class are too small to identify clear-cut patterns in my set of six classes. Most importantly, both language and non-language-specific norms are, by and large, only expressed by the teachers and are very short.

The overall picture of metapragmatics on language-specific classroom norms can be summarised as follows. Apart from the A track in Alpegg and the C track in Stätten, teachers have been found to address pupils about the use of English instead of Swiss German or German in more or less explicit ways. Teachers' references to using English in the classrooms can therefore be directly linked to pupils' use of another language in most of the cases (exceptions are extracts (1) and (2)). In addition, the organisation of the lessons has a considerable influence on pupils' language choice and thus teachers' comments on the use of English in the classes. In practice, I have argued that a reason for the lack of the teacher's references to using English in the A track in Alpegg certainly is his close guidance of pupils in exercises where they reproduce English language rather than being faced with the difficulty of producing English sentences from scratch. Also, it has been mentioned that the teacher in the C track in Stätten uses Standard German himself extensively and therefore shows a more relaxed attitude towards pupils not using English in class themselves.

I have also pointed out that asking pupils to use English in class may indeed be expressed in an indirect way. This implies that pupils first have to recognise such a reference as metapragmatic on classroom norms, on the basis of their experience with the teacher having used a similar reference before or the context in which such an indirect reference is spelled out (see extract (10)). Additionally, I have presented two extracts in the middle track of Stätten as exceptional examples of references to classroom norms. In one extract (i.e. (12)), the teacher places language-specific norms over non-language-specific ones by suggesting

that chatting in class is tolerable if done in English. In the other one (i.e. (13)), the same teacher makes reference to the classroom norm of using English in class by choosing the same non-target language as the pupil triggering such metapragmatic reference on norms of interaction. Finally, I have described three pupils making reference to using English in class, suggesting that they do so to sound out whether German rather than English is acceptable in certain classroom contexts.

Regarding non-language-specific norms of interaction, I have shown that teachers may refer to general classroom norms such as raising one's hand when claiming the floor. In addition, they may also establish a metapragmatic level on the classroom norm of not chatting in class. Whereas the former subgroup could only be found in the B and C track of Alpegg and the A track in Stätten (and the four extracts shown are the only ones in my whole set of data), the latter subgroup has only been observed in the B and C track in Stätten. In short, the limited number of similar extracts across classes means that it is not possible to describe an overall pattern for non-language-specific classroom norms.

Chapter 9: Focus-on-Function Metapragmatics
who wants to try? .. irgendeine zeitform .. satz übersetzen .. ich trinke milch (teacher) – I drink milk (pupil 1) – bin ich schwul oder was? (pupil 2)

9.1 Broad Introduction – Definition

I broadly introduced the category focus-on-function metapragmatics in chapter 4. After studying the whole set of data in this study once more in the process of testing interrater reliability, I noticed that this is the only category that failed such testing and therefore needed clarification. As this category is very small, overall interrater reliability percentages across all categories still amounted to at least 70%. Nevertheless, the handful of sequences that were initially labelled metapragmatic on function and yet differed from the other extracts identified within the same category, triggered a re-analysis of what metapragmatics on function actually is and how it is understood in the context presented here. As metapragmatics on function is the smallest category in terms of extracts found, the closer definition (see interaction cluster presented below) is given here and not in the introduction to the analysis in chapter 4.

In my categorisation chapter, i.e. chapter 4, I mentioned that metapragmatic comments on function relate to a previous utterance and its person's intention behind the utterance. In addition, I argued that a metapragmatic comment on function can be seen as one of the effects an utterance has on the person responding to it. In other words, a metapragmatic comment is triggered by a statement on the propositional first level of discourse and must be seen as a reaction of the person commenting on such statement beyond the original propositional level. It is in fact this shift from the propositional level of the first utterance to a metapragmatic level as a comment on the function of the original statement that I have encountered problems with. Therefore, I have re-analysed all extracts initially labelled metapragmatic on function and, for some extracts (see (8)-(10)), argue that they actually remain on the propositional level of discourse. In order to visualise the above-mentioned sequence of propositional trigger statement and metapragmatic follow-up sequence, I would like to emphasise the following interactional steps.

1) Person's statement
   (**propositional level**)

2) Effect (perlocution of statement) triggers a comment of an interactant on the function of the previous statement
   (**metapragmatic on function**)

In the summarising grid of chapter 4, where the whole categorisation system was introduced, the following two sentences were presented as a propositional real-world statement and a metapragmatic comment on function (1 for propositional level, 2 for metapragmatic level).

1R My father goed to London yesterday (P sentence

2FU Is that why you couldn't do your homework? (T question)

I would argue that 2FU can be interpreted as metapragmatics on function but also a statement that remains on the propositional level like the preceding statement 1R. I have nevertheless decided to keep it in the categorisation grid of chapter 4 as an example of metapragmatics on function as the potential ambiguity helps define how I understand this metapragmatic category. If 1R is in fact a pupil's statement based on a teacher's question such as *can you tell me something that your father did yesterday,* 2FU is clearly a teacher's reaction that goes beyond the propositional level of 1R as an interpretation of the pupil's sentence and therefore a comment on the function of 1R.

However, one could also imagine a teacher going round the class to check a homework task and a pupil not having done it. If the pupil in that situation says *My father goed to London yesterday,* what the teacher asks explicitly in 2FU *Is that why you couldn't do your homework* is in fact suggested in the pupil's statement already. In this second interpretation of the short interaction between pupil and teacher, 2FU is therefore not a statement beyond the propositional level of 1R but a comment that remains on the original propositional level of the pupil's sentence. In the field of modern pragmatics, Paul Grice (1975) described such suggested meanings in an utterance with the linguistic term "implicature".

In fact, he labelled it "conversational implicature" (for a good overview, see e.g. Meibauer 2006: 568ff). Without going into details as this is an interpretation of the sample sentences that I am not considering metapragmatic on function, I would like to at least briefly provide the context with reference to terminology. In the second interpretation suggested above (i.e. seen as outside my metapragmatic focus), *My father goed to London yesterday* would include a "conversational implicature" (to be more precise, a "particularised conversational implicature") in Gricean terms. As such conversational implicature can be identified by the "exploitation (apparent flouting) or observation of the cooperative principle" (Meibauer 2006: 568), the pupil's original sentence *My father goed to London yesterday,* could be interpreted as an exploitation of the maxim of relevance. Knowing that the teacher checks homework and he has not done it, the pupil, by deliberately being irrelevant through a thematic switch on the surface of the conversation, implies what the teacher in *Is that why you couldn't do your homework* makes explicit (thus conversational implicature).

This short digression into conversational analysis and conversational maxims, however, is an interpretation of the sample sentences given above that cannot be seen within the context of my category defined as metapragmatics on function. Therefore, I have considered statements that refer to a previous person's implicature as non-metapragmatic. The lesson extracts that follow will thus not be interpreted by studying them through a Gricean lens of conversational analysis (or developments of Grice's seminal suggestions of the Cooperative Principles by e.g. Levinson 2000 or Sperber and Wilson 1995).

Nevertheless, the two interpretations above suggest that the context in which a potential metapragmatic comment on function occurs, must be studied very closely in order to distinguish it from statements that are triggered by conversational implicature of the original utterance and therefore cannot be interpreted as metapragmatic.

9.2 Focus-on-Function Metapragmatics and Emotions

In the process of developing my categorisation system, I initially labelled a category "expressions-of-feelings metapragmatics". However, I was unable to define it sufficiently, i.e. clearly distinguish it from the propositional first level of discourse. As I have not come across any research on classroom metapragmatics that addresses emotions in combination with classroom utterances, I have not found any support in literature that would suggest taking this category into my system. After defining the here presented focus-on-function metapragmatic category, I noticed that some extracts categorised as metapragmatic on function have also been labelled as expressions-of-feelings metapragmatics. After studying both work-in-progress categories once more, I realised that, despite a certain overlap, it is the focus on function that permits distinguishing utterances from their propositional level and not the absence or presence of feelings expressed at the same time. I would therefore like to argue against generally identifying expressions of feelings as metapragmatic because an expression might purely be an emotional comment on the same propositional level as the statement that triggered it (see (9) and 10)). I will, however, also show that both teachers and pupils may move to a metapragmatic floor on function and simultaneously express certain emotions as well (annoyance in (1), (5), (6), (7), pride in (2) and fun in (3) and (4)).

In the following section, my aim will be to present four extracts from Alpegg (i.e. (1)-(4)), and three extracts from Stätten (i.e. (5)-(7)). They all include metapragmatic comments on function. In the qualitative approach adopted in this study, I have deliberately avoided working with absolute numbers and percentages. In other words, I have so far chosen the extracts in order to draw an overall picture of metapragmatic work at both sites and different academic tracks. For this category, however, I will present all extracts labelled metapragmatic on function. This means that I have only identified four extracts for Alpegg and three for Stätten. As for Alpegg, both teachers and pupils comment on the metapragmatic level of function. In Stätten, only the pupils have been found commenting on the function of statements. Owing to the fact that this is indeed a very small category, I would like to stress at this point that no sweeping statements will be made about the occurrence of such metapragmatic comments in the different academic tracks of either Alpegg or Stätten.

Extracts (1) and (2) are both taken from the first lesson in the B-track classroom of Alpegg and occur in the same lesson sequence. The grammatical topic of the lesson is the past continuous form and pupils are instructed to find out in pairs what they were doing at 10.45am on that morning (the lesson takes place in the afternoon). Both sequences revolve around the fact that Daniela was modelling in a photo shooting. In extract (1), the teacher asks Sybille what she found out about Daniela's activity at 10.45am. In extract (2), Daniela comments on her modelling activity herself. Interactions develop as follows, and metapragmatic comments are highlighted **in bold** and discussed below.

(1)
Moser: Sibylle tell us something about Daniela: .. look at her
(DANIELA LAUGHS)
Moser: what was *she* doing?
Sibylle: Daniela was giving her (INCOMPREHENSIBLE, SHE REFERS TO MODELLING)
Gwendolin: **she's a *super* sweety girl** (IN IRONIC TONE)
Moser: listen, listen .. let's finish this .. can you say it again?
Sibylle: I don't know how to say it
Moser: she was .. (MOSER WHISPERS THE WORD MODELLING)
Sibylle: ah she was modelling for a test for [..] exam
Moser: [exactly]

(2)
Moser: if you look at her you can see she's not wearing her school clothes she's --
Daniela: oh doch
Moser: *oh* .. usually .. a bit .. a bit special .. a bit special
Daniela: **ja aber i ha i has gärn ä chli special**
Moser: **ah= yeah .. I know .. we know that** (SOME PUPILS LAUGH) .. okay .. but she was modelling

In (1), the teacher wants to know from Sibylle what Daniela was doing at 10.45am. With her question, she elicits an answer from Sibylle (albeit not completely comprehensible) on the propositional first level of discourse of pupils' experienced past. Gwendolin's *she's a super sweety girl* (**in bold**), however, goes beyond such propositional content. The fact that Daniela was modelling and that Sibylle presents this in front of the whole class must be seen as a

trigger for Gwendolin to comment on this statement in a very personal way. Her emphasising of the word *super* gives the statement an ironic colouring that might be interpreted as the pupil's expression of annoyance with Daniela's special experience as a model. In other words, the function of Sibylle's incomplete statement *Daniela was giving her* …, i.e. Sibylle's admiration for her friend's modelling experience, is commented on by Gwendolin. The teacher, however, does not reply to Gwendolin's reaction outside the propositional content level, and continues her conversation with Sibylle on the established propositional level of classroom discourse.

In (2), directly following the conversation in (1), Ms Moser refers to Daniela's modelling again by referring to the pupil's more formal clothes for that purpose. After Daniela disagrees with her teacher about her unusual clothes and the teacher emphasises Daniela's *a bit special* outfit once more, the pupil moves beyond the propositional content level of special clothing. She does so by referring to the adjective *special,* used by the teacher to describe her clothes on the first level of discourse, to make a statement about her character. With her sentence *ja aber i ha i has gärn ä chli special* (**in bold**), she thus comments on the function of her teacher's description of her clothes. In addition, extract (2) shows that the teacher may indeed react to such a shift of interactional floor. Unlike her arguably intentional lack of response to Gwendolin's metapragmatic comment in (1), Moser takes up Daniela's metacomment in (2) and responds with her phrase *ah= yeah .. I know .. we know that* on the same metapragmatic level (**in bold**). Her follow-up comment *okay* may be seen as her attempt to redirect the conversation back to its original content level, which is supported by her own concluding remark *but she was modelling*.

Extracts (3) and (4) are taken from the lowest academic track in Alpegg. In both sequences, the teacher produces a metapragmatic comment on function. Whereas in (3) he comments on the function of a pupil's statement that caused laughter in the classroom, Mr Stocker in (4), later in the lesson, refers back to the same incident. Thus, (3) and (4) are connected and presented together below.

(3)

Stocker: the next one .. the most intelligent woman who ever lived on earth .. for me .. yes (TO KLEMENS, WHO RAISES HIS HAND)

Klemens: Marilyn Monroe

Stocker: *no* (STOCKER AND Ps LAUGH) .. **thank you very much**

Klemens: Marie Curie

Stocker: Marie Curie ja Marie Curie (STOCKER AND Ps STILL LAUGH) … **was a nice joke** .. Marie Curie do you know facts about Marie Curie over here?

(4)

Stocker: the next one .. yeah Klemens .. **I give you another chance** (Ps LAUGH)

Klemens: ähm (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Stocker: **that's a nice girl mmh?**

Klemens: Marilyn Monroe

Stocker: yeah that's Marilyn Monroe

In the classroom activity from which both extracts are taken, pupils are working on a handout that consists of eight short paragraphs describing eight famous people whose faces are given in jumbled up order. The teacher goes through the pictures of famous people and links them to the profiles by asking individual pupils to read out some sentences from these profile paragraphs. In (3), the picture to be linked to a profile and a famous person is Marie Curie, and Mr Stocker expects Klemens to successfully make this combination. However, the pupil believes that the face belongs to Marilyn Monroe, which creates a very funny situation within the context of the teacher introducing this person as being the most intelligent woman on earth. Stocker reacts with his phrase *thank you very much* (**in bold**), a statement that clearly goes beyond the propositional level of classroom discourse about these famous people. His statement must be seen as a reaction to the function of Klemens' suggestion that his teacher thinks Marilyn Monroe is the most intelligent woman on earth. In other words, the teacher reacts to Klemens' unintended insult and therefore on a metapragmatic level of discourse. Klemens responds quickly and gives the correct answer. The teacher provides positive feedback but again moves to the previously established metapragmatic level of discourse with his statement *was a nice joke* (**in bold**). It can be argued that he does so in order to redeem Klemens by suggesting that it was intended to be understood as a joke rather than an attack on

the teacher's perception of intelligent women (without suggesting here that Marilyn Monroe was not intelligent).

When Marilyn Monroe is named later on in the same activity, the teacher deliberately addresses Klemens again. His phrase *I give you another chance* (**in bold**), re-opens the metapragmatic floor established by the teacher in (3), and has a humorous effect. The reaction of pupils (Klemens included) therefore suggests that Stocker's statement indeed carries meaning beyond the organisation of speech on the first level of discourse. In addition, it must be pointed out that Stocker's following sentence *that's a nice girl mmh* (**in bold**), interpreted in isolation as a clearly descriptive comment on the propositional content of talking about famous people, also carries metapragmatic weight and relates to the function of Klemens' incorrect answer in extract (3). Extract (4) therefore shows that a metapragmatic comment on function does not have to be a direct response following the statement whose function it relates to. Instead, such a metapragmatic level can be re-adopted later on, as long as the context sufficiently connects the metapragmatic statement and the original statement with the function being commented on.

As indicated above, it is only the pupils who move to a focus-on-function metalevel of discourse in the set of data presented for Stätten. Extracts (5) and (6) discussed below, are both taken from the strongest academic track in Stätten. The overall topic is working as an au pair, and the grammatical subject revolves around modal verbs. In (5), three pupils are working together and are trying to fill in the gaps on a worksheet with the correct modal verbs. In the final stage of the lesson, from which extract (6) is taken, the teacher asks pupils in groups of threes or fours to write down and finally present a dialogue between a person who has spent some time as an au pair and one who intends to do so.

(5)
(GROUP CONVERSATION BETWEEN JONIDA, KAROLA AND MICHELE)
Jonida (TO KAROLA): must heisst dürfen
Karola: [INCOMPREHENSIBLE]
Michele (TO BOTH): [müssen] [[.. must heisst müssen]]
Jonida: [[nei dürfen .. have to heisst müssen]]
Karola: nei (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)
Michele (TO KAROLA): **sie weiss immer alles besser**

(6)

(GROUP CONVERSATION BETWEEN LINDITA, MATTEO AND ALICE)

Lindita (TO MATTEO): Matteo du bisch nöd bi ihnä (POINTS TO GROUP AT THE BACK)

Matteo: wieso?

Alice: ja es gaht ja nüd

Matteo: wänn sie gseit hät ds drittä .. sie aber wiä ds drittä? (QUESTION TO GRELL, WHO TURNS LINDITA'S WORKSHEET)

Lindita: sie das chänd sie grad nee (GIVES GRELL HER WORKSHEET)

Grell: finished?

Lindita: ja

Alice: chamä ds drittä? (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Lindita: dä machemer irgendwiä .. **du bisch mis chind wo mich immer stresst** (TO MATTEO)

Matteo (TO GRELL): sie aber wiä ds drittä?

Lindita (TO GRELL): sie wiä ds drittä?

Grell: there are two people talking and one person (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Matteo: aha=

Lindita: (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Alice (TO MATTEO): bisch du d au pair oder wer wott au pair si?

Matteo: weisch was du bisch de au pair und mir sind d informationsdingsbums

Alice: okay

In extract (5), Jonida takes the lead in her group and translates the modal verb *must* with German 'dürfen'. With her incorrect translation on the metapragmatic level of meaning (discussed in chapter 6, see extract (24)), she triggers a reaction from both Karola and Michele. Whereas Karola's input remains incomprehensible, Michele clearly provides the correct German translation of *must*, thus replying to Jonida on the same metapragmatic level of meaning. Jonida, however, insists on her initial translation of *must*, arguing that it is *have to* that carries the German meaning 'müssen'. Both Karola and Michele react to Jonida's stubbornness. Whereas Karola's statement again remains incomprehensible, Michele switches from the metapragmatic level of meaning to the metapragmatic level of function. With his sentence *sie weiss immer alles besser* (**in bold**), he addresses the function of Jonida statements in (5), i.e. her firm belief that she is right and Karola and Michele are wrong.

It must be noted that, as in extract (1), the pupil in (5) expresses annoyance with the function of the preceding statement by a classmate. And yet, extract (5) differs from extract (1) and all other extracts shown in this chapter in one particular way: it is only in extract (5) that a metapragmatic level on the function is based on a statement outside the propositional first level of discourse. I have shown that Michele reacts to Jonida's stubbornness and confidence about knowing the correct translation of *must*, which she expresses on another metapragmatatic level, i.e. the metapragmatic level of meaning. Therefore, the suggested structure introduced in 9.1, i.e. 1) person's statement on the propositional level, and 2) reaction to the function of that statement, must be reconsidered. Extract (5) suggests that a metapragmatic level on the function of a statement can be adopted even if the statement it relates to also carries metapragmatic weight. However, as the number of extracts presented for this minor metapragmatic category is very small, I have decided to keep the somewhat simplified structure introduced in 9.1 and comment on its simplification with the analysis of extract (5).

Extract (6) shows the organisation of pupils into groups of threes after being instructed by their teacher to form groups themselves and to create and write down a dialogue between an au-pair experienced person and one who is trying to find out about this experience. Triggered by Matteo's uncertainty about which group he should join, Lindita, on the propositional first level of discourse, comments on the topic of classroom organisation. With her phrase *Matteo du bisch nüd bi ihnä,* she suggests that Matteo should work with her and Alice, as the group Matteo intends to join already has its quota of three pupils. Matteo and Alice are confused about their teacher's instruction to work in groups of threes in order to create a dialogue between two friends. Both address the teacher and ask how this can be done (Matteo: *sie aber wiä ds drittä*, Alice: *chamä ds drittä*). Lindita takes the lead and comments on the function of Matteo's insecurity about the group size by adopting a metapragmatic level of discourse. With her statement *du bisch mis chind wo mich immer stresst* **(in bold)**, she expresses annoyance with Matteo, but not with Alice, who also asks her teacher how to work in a group of three. Lindita thus actively makes a decision to comment on Matteo's confusion, suggesting her alliance with her neighbour Alice. Her metapragmatic comment unequivocally depicts Matteo as a helpless child that Lindita feels irritated with (i.e. *wo mich immer stresst*).

Extract (6) shows again that a metapragmatic comment on the function of a previous statement often aims to voice a negative feeling of annoyance with such statement. It becomes clear that, where annoyance is expressed through such metapragmatic comments, the function of a person's statement being commented on only represents the tip of the iceberg. It can be argued that Lindita in (6) comments on more than just Matteo's current inability to work out the group size. Her metaphorical comment reveals her interpersonal relation with Matteo as well (seeing him as a dependent child).

The last identified instance of metapragmatics on function is taken from the lowest academic track in Stätten. Once more, it shows a pupil adopting such a metafloor. Despite the fact that it is quoted in the title of this chapter (edited) in order to introduce the metalevel, I will provide the context of the sequence and include the short extract again.

In the lesson it is taken from, the teacher collects tenses by asking pupils to provide random sentences that he writes into a chart. At some stage, he produces the sentence *I drink milk* and asks pupils to come up with different tenses in either the affirmative or question form. In the lead-in to extract (7), the teacher requests pupils to turn the sentence *did I drink milk* into the present simple equivalent. Different pupils suggest incorrect versions in a stage of the lesson where the teacher does not distribute speaking rights explicitly. Therefore, owing to overlapping pupils' comments, a lot of statements remain incomplete and cannot be attributed to individual pupils. In (7) below, an unidentified pupil finally produces the correct sentence *do I drink milk.* This statement, on the propositional discourse level of simply labelling tenses, is followed by another pupil's comment on a metapragmatic level (**in bold**).

(7)
Px1: do I drink my milk
Px2: **bin ich schwul oder was?**

Not showing the lengthy lead-in and owing to the absence of any reaction by the pupil or the teacher on the **bold** statement, I would like to focus on Px2's statement solely. Clearly, the pupil comments on Px1's phrase *do I drink milk* or arguably on the teacher's suggested original sentence *I drink milk*. Px2 does so by again addressing the function of Px1's or the teacher's sentence, i.e. the lack of "coolness" when drinking milk. Px2 asks a rhetorical question, bringing in a reference to the marginal group of gay people in society and

suggesting that he is certainly different. This metapragmatic comment on function again carries an expression of feeling – specifically a certain degree of annoyance – concerning the uncool nature of the habit of drinking milk.

9.3 Non-Focus-on-Function Extracts (after Re-Analysis)

As mentioned in the introduction above, extracts (8), (9) and (10) have been considered non-focus-on-function extracts after careful re-analysis of the whole data. This metapragmatic category is by far the smallest identified in my classroom setting and has yet proved to be the most challenging to define. I have thus decided to add these three extracts in order to contrast the focus-on-function metalevel with the propositional first level of discourse once more. In so doing, my aim will be to show that all three extracts remain solely on the propositional level. In extracts (9) and (10), pupils express their feelings too (and I have shown that expression of feelings often co-occur with focus-on-function metacomments). Nevertheless, I will argue that interaction takes place on the non-meta, propositional level of discourse. The extracts are shown below and comments about their non-meta characteristics are provided together with the context of the lesson sequences they are taken from.

(8)
Schwaller: **okay I can see that's not so easy for you** .. let's try to to find the rest .. the third column

(9)

Moser: who who is the writer in this group?

Daniela: ja alli mitänand

Moser: yes but you know I would like a list of about twenty maybe fifteen to twenty words and that list I will copy for the others so one who has a careful handwriting that's the one who should make the list so I can copy [that]

Daniela: [guät i to schribä]

Px1: ja

Px2: okay

Px1: etz mönner (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Daniela: **wa wa wa wa wa fürs wa fürtig scheiss verzöllsch**

Px2: hey (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Eliane: hey du= .. hallo

Daniela: du bisch au primitiv

Sibylle: ja= mir wüsseds .. isch guät

Daniela: also säged mr d wörter und i schriibs uuf

(10)

Jaelle: ähm she looks for the children

Grell: right

Nico: äh ischs wenäs chindrmeitli? .. **isch ja huärä spannend**

The teacher's short input in extract (8) is taken from the first lesson of the strongest academic track in Alpegg. In chapter 5, extracts (44) and (45) from the same lesson sequence were already discussed within the context of focus-on-form metapragmatics. I have previously pointed out that in this sequence, the teacher bases classroom work on two reading/listening extracts of the soaps *Neighbours* and *Casualty* in the course book. He distributes a worksheet that requires pupils to label *subject*, *verb* and *object* of the sentences in the *Neighbours* text. I have initially labelled Mr Schaller's comment in (8) (**in bold**) as metapragmatic as it is somehow expressed on a different level than the instruction he gives in the lead-in to the task about the labelling of the sentence parts. As Schwaller gives this input after the class has worked on the labelling task individually, there is, however, no initial sentence or phrase the function of which Schwaller comments on. In other words, the statement cannot be linked to a trigger comment that has been identified for all metapragmatic comments on function in the

extracts (1)-(7). I would contend that Schwaller remains on the propositional level of discourse organisation and simply provides a feedback/comment for his class about their performance of the task. Having argued in the categorisation chapter, i.e. chapter 4, that organisation of speech fails to direct the conversation to any metapragmatic level, I therefore interpret Schwaller's comment in (8) as non-meta.

Extract (9) is taken from the second lesson in the middle academic track of Alpegg. A group of pupils work together and create a word list of difficult vocabulary in a play given to them. In the first part of the extract, the teacher checks up on the organisation of the group and wants to know who is the writer of the group. Daniela's statement in Swiss German *wa wa wa wa wa fürs wa fürtig scheiss verzöllsch* (**in bold**, i.e. 'what kind of rubbish are you talking') may be linked to the preceding and incomplete comment by an unidentified pupil *etz mömmer* ('now we have to'). In this case, I would argue that Daniela's response refers to Px1's statement about how they should go about completing the task. In other words, Daniela's comment, like Schwaller's input discussed in (8), revolves around the task organisation and therefore remains on the propositional level. Alternatively, one could argue that Daniela's statement is about an off-subject comment previously mentioned by a pupil in that group. In this second interpretation – and Daniela's later comment *du bisch au primitiv* ('you are rude too') may support such an off-subject trigger remark – the pupil simply expresses disapproval of what has been mentioned on the propositional level as an off-subject remark earlier. Her expression of annoyance, which I have identified in the metapragmatic extracts (1), (5), (6) and (7) as well, nevertheless must not be mistaken for a metacomment outside the propositional first level of discourse. As a result, I interpret Daniela's comment as non-meta too.

In extract (10), Nico, a pupil in the strongest academic track in Stätten, also expresses annoyance or disappointment with regard to what the teacher elicits from Jaelle about the tasks of an au pair (**in bold**). And despite this expression of feelings once more, Nico's comment fails to address the function of Jaelle's statement and must therefore simply be interpreted as a comment on the propositional first level of discourse. Extracts (8)-(10) have thus shown that careful analysis is needed in order to identify the difference between metapragmatic comments linked to the function of previous statements and comments that may be linked to previous statements as well, but solely on the basis of classroom organisation or propositional content.

9.4 Summary of Findings

After introducing the smallest category in my whole system in chapter 4, I have pointed out in this chapter that an early work-in-progress, focus-on-function category initially failed when it came to interrater reliability testing. In other words, a matching percentage of only about 50% triggered a re-analysis of the whole set of data. Afterwards, six out of seven extracts presented as metapragmatic on function above, were identified correctly in a second round of interrater testing (i.e. 86%).

In this chapter, I have developed the broad definition of metapragmatics on function presented in chapter 4; a comment that relates to a previous utterance and the person's intention behind the utterance. I have particularly emphasised that a metapragmatic comment is triggered by a statement on the propositional first level of discourse (with one exception identified in (5)) and must be interpreted as a reaction of a person commenting on the function of someone else's statement. This reaction must be seen as a comment outside the propositional discourse and thus carries metapragmatic weight.

I have also stressed the difficulty encountered when distinguishing between those comments that remain on the propositional first level of discourse (extracts (8)-(10)) and those actually labelled metapragmatic on function (extracts (1)-(7)). It is particularly worth noting that a careful distinction must be made between a statement that addresses the implicature of an original sentence, and a statement that really relates to the function of an original statement. In the former case, I have interpreted the comment as remaining on the propositional level (i.e. implied propositional content), whereas the latter example is really what I have labelled metapragmatic on function in this study (see categorisation example used in chapter 4 and discussed above in this chapter).

In addition, I have also pointed out that an early work-in-progress, metapragmatic category labelled "expressions of feelings" has been dropped, but that in focus-on-function sequences, such expressions of feelings often co-occur. Nevertheless, a careful re-analysis has shown that such expressions of feelings may also occur on the propositional level and therefore cannot be included in my metapragmatic categorisation system as a separate category (see (9) and (10)). This decision is supported by the lack of research that would suggest that expressions of feelings must be seen as a metapragmatic category in a context of foreign language classroom interaction. It may be worth noting once more that the aforementioned absence of research

into classroom metapragmatics has been the driving force behind the development of my categorisation system as a bottom-up process emerging from the data as such.

With reference to the seven extracts labelled metapragmatic on function and discussed above, I have stated that in Alpegg, both teachers and pupils have been identified commenting on the function of statements. In Stätten, by way of contrast, it is only the pupils who have moved to a metapragmatic level to comment on the function of previous utterances.

Additionally, it must be noted, with reference to extract (4), that a focus-on-function comment does not need to follow the statement whose function it relates to directly. The teacher in this extract has re-adopted a metapragmatic focus on function after moving to such level earlier in the lesson. I have shown that, as long as the context adequately connects the metapragmatic statement and the original statement whose function is commented on, the gap between the original statement and the metapragmatic comment can be bridged.

Finally, extract (5) has shown that interactants can move to a metapragmatic level on the function of a statement even if the original statement whose function is commented on carries metapragmatic weight itself.

Chapter 10: Hierarchy of Metapragmatic Categories

10.1 Broad Introduction

In chapter 3, I emphasised that one of my research goals is to identify how metapragmatic negotiation in the classroom is hierarchically organised (see 3.4, pp 47ff). I would like to stress that I have decided against presenting the way in which the individual categories are linked to each other before the analysis chapters 5-9 for a certain reason. As previously mentioned, the presented categorisation system has mainly been developed with a bottom-up approach. The result is a system emerging from the existing set of data. Consequently, I did not have the opportunity to refer extensively to the metapragmatic context of classroom interaction in literature (where appropriate and possible, of course, such a link has been established, see 3.3, and especially "metapragmatics" defined by Hübler and Bublitz 2007).

In other words, the quality of this study, as it were, may be seen in the close analysis of data and the identification of a metapragmatic system without imposing an external structure, a set of categories, and ultimately a certain hierarchy within these categories onto the data presented and analysed here. It is therefore only logical that the categories are presented in detail first and then referred to again by focusing on the larger picture and the way categories relate to one another. This procedure is even more important, bearing in mind the fact that the argumentation for a hierarchy element to be found in my system essentially hinges on the findings of the previous analysis chapters, where each category was presented individually in great detail. However, I have made a particular effort to keep the hierarchy element in mind as well when describing each category in the previous chapters. In so doing – and the attentive reader will certainly have noticed – I made explicit references to this hierarchy chapter 10 when presenting the different categories from chapters 5-9. The presentation of this hierarchy element therefore does not come as a surprise; it is in fact a logical follow-up of the analysis and a crucial step towards understanding the categories as metapragmatic elements within a larger picture.

In addition, a few comments must be made about the title of this chapter, i.e. “hierarchy of metapragmatic categories”. I have indeed also considered calling it “interrelationship between categories”. However, owing to two categories in particular, and their dominance over the others (i.e. focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics), I have decided to keep the title “hierarchy of metapragmatic categories”.

As the term “hierarchy” may indeed include the notion of rank or importance, I would like to stress that for the purposes of this study, it is best defined by the element of quantity. I mentioned in my analysis chapters earlier that I do not take a quantitative approach and count each metapragmatic act in order to provide statistics for comparison (the data sample here is small and a qualitative approach, for reasons elsewhere stated, is more appropriate). Nevertheless, the hierarchy element presented and developed here must be seen in terms of quantity. In other words, quite simply, focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics can be found much more often than the smaller categories, i.e. playing-on-word metapragmatics, norm-of-interaction metapragmatics and focus-on-function metapragmatics.

Furthermore, I wish to emphasise that the more frequently occurring focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatic sequences must not be seen as more important categories than the other ones mentioned above. In fact, I showed in the analysis chapters earlier (and will take up some of the findings for this broader look at the whole system again), that successful metapragmatic negotiation between participants is often achieved through a combination of different metapragmatic efforts, i.e. labelled as different metapragmatic categories. Additionally, I would like to suggest that teachers and pupils who move more frequently to a metapragmatic level of form (i.e. grammar) and meaning (i.e. vocabulary) rather than address the function of statements, playing on words or talking about classroom norms, do so for a number of reasons (referred to in the conclusion in chapter 11 in more detail). This, however, does not suggest that the less frequently found metafloors are less important. On the contrary, I have previously shown that, for example, a teacher’s applying of language play by taking up a pupil’s mistake in order to create a Swiss German phrase of warning (see chapter 7, extract (1), p 205), may be far more effective to explain a grammar point compared with e.g. simply explaining the grammar mistake on the metapragmatic level of form. Thus, all categories describing different metapragmatic efforts by teacher or pupils, irrespective of their frequency of occurrence in the presented set of data, must be seen as

equally important. Participants may apply them in order to discuss a subject matter beyond the first level of classroom discourse.

I have mentioned above that both focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics occur much more frequently than the remaining categories. I have also briefly pointed out earlier that such frequency of occurrence depends on a number of criteria in the classroom. These elements will mainly be addressed in the conclusion in chapter 11, especially with reference to further research. However, the major factor influencing how often a certain category can be found, must be stressed here. It is in fact predominantly the teacher alone who decides which metapragmatic level he or she wants to move to in class. It is therefore imperative that the hierarchy of categories, previously also called interrelationship of categories, must be seen as strongly dependent on the person who mainly organises classroom interaction, i.e. the teacher. As a result, the overall picture of metapragmatic categories will only become a realistic account of different metafloors co-occurring in the observed lessons when, at certain stages, references are being made to the teachers as well. At first glance, this may contradict the fact that in this chapter the overall emphasis is placed on the general picture of metapragmatic elements and how they are interlinked. However, it would be too simplistic to reduce the findings of six different classrooms and six different teachers into one hierarchical system without keeping the above-mentioned main element – the teachers themselves – in the equation, as it were.

In 10.2, my aim will be to refer to the two dominant categories focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. I will do so by mainly making references to lesson extracts previously analysed in chapters 5 and 6. In so doing, I wish to emphasise that this hierarchical system is a development and logical follow-up of the previous chapters. In other words, I will show how the categories are interlinked in the actual classrooms, rather than explaining a certain hierarchy detached from the actual data in an isolated categorisation system. Thus, the hierarchical system remains 3-dimensional, with teachers and pupils determining this hierarchy as the protagonists in class.

Apart from extract (1), which is shown as a new extract below, all other extracts will be addressed and hierarchy elements highlighted with reference to where and how they were discussed in the analysis chapters.

In 10.3, I will address the smaller categories, i.e. playing-on-word, norm-of-interaction and focus-on-function metapragmatics. I will also state how they can, and indeed, must be linked to either one another or, especially, the more frequently occurring focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatic categories. Finally, in 10.4, I will summarise the presented hierarchy of metapragmatic categories in two visual charts.

10.2 Dominance of Focus on Form and Meaning

In all lessons, the metafloor most frequently found is focus on form. As a result, in the hierarchy of categories presented here, the focus-on-form category takes the top position (in terms of quantity, explained in 10.1). As most of the lessons observed have an overall grammar agenda – mainly predetermined by the course book unit – it is not surprising that metadiscussion between participants or teachers' meta-input to the class very often revolves around a grammar topic. The dominance of a focus-on-form metalevel is so strong that it sometimes affects the second-largest category found in my set of data, i.e. focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. Extract (1), shown below, exemplifies this and is the only extract used in this chapter 10 that I have not previously analysed as such. It is taken from the B-track classroom of Alpegg and shows the reporting stage of an exercise where pupils have to find out from each other what they were doing at 10.45am. The grammatical focus lies on the past continuous form and the teacher asks Marianne to tell her and the class what she found out about her classmate Rebekka.

(1)
Moser: Marianne would you tell us about Rebekka?
Marianne: ähm she was writing a text in the Informatik (PRONOUNCED IN GERMAN)
Moser: she was writing a text .. very good

Extract (1) clearly shows that the teacher primarily concentrates on the correct use of the past continuous form. Marianne's German word *Informatik* remains uncommented and uncorrected. In the concluding turn, Moser makes such grammar focus explicit by only repeating the part of Marianne's sentence which includes the tense, deliberately leaving out *in the Informatik*. Thus, the teacher does not comment on Marianne's vocabulary use on the metapragmatic level of meaning. This extract must be seen as exemplary in the sense that it

demonstrates how teachers mainly focus on correct grammar in predominantly grammar-focused classrooms.

I have mentioned above that the dominance of focus on form over meaning can be explained with the classroom focus being largely on grammar. And indeed, I have only found very few lesson sequences where the teachers make vocabulary practice the main focus of the classroom (see chapter 6, i.e. 6.2, pp 163ff). In the handful of sequences where the teachers explicitly give priority to vocabulary, focus-on-meaning metapragmatics becomes more dominant, i.e. the major metapragmatic floor to move to. I also pointed out in chapter 6 (especially with reference to extracts (2)-(4)), that such explicit vocabulary sequences may indeed boost focus-on-meaning metapragmatic negotiation between teacher and pupils.

Despite the fact that the main lesson topics in all classes revolve around grammar and, thus, the metalevel most frequently moved to is focus on form, it must be stressed again that focus on meaning is by far the second most predominant metacategory found. The reason for teachers or pupils to introduce such a meaning metafloor, even if grammar is the main focus of attention, is fairly straightforward (such meaning metasequences were labelled "focus on meaning sub", see 6.3, pp 171ff). Any pupils not knowing a word in English and trying to express themselves in the classroom, have essentially two options: reverting to German or even Swiss German, or asking the teacher for the word in English. It is interesting that in the latter case as well, pupils often resort to German or Swiss German.

Alternatively, teachers themselves may temporarily violate the overall focus of grammar and direct the conversation to a meaning metafloor. I have identified the following reasons for teachers to do so. First of all, quite simply, teachers may want to ensure that pupils have understood what they have said and therefore ask for the meaning of certain words. A case in point can be found in extract (8) in chapter 6 (see p 173). Within the overall lesson focus of labelling different sentence parts (i.e. subject, verb, object), the teacher wants to double-check whether pupils have understood the compound word *backing singer*. In this extract, previously analysed, the pupil is capable of giving a definition in English. However, it must be stated that pupils often simply translate a word when asked about its meaning by the teacher.

Additionally, I have also found out that the teacher may embed a focus-on-meaning sequence in an overall grammar sequence, i.e. when generally explaining a grammar point. In other words, he or she may make use of a meaning metafloor with the intention of supporting pupils in their understanding of a grammar item. A good example of this and the teacher's intentional use of focus-on-meaning metapragmatics in the interest of grammar explanation, can be found in the previously discussed extract (29) in chapter 6 (see p 195). The teacher tries to elicit the question *who first walked on the moon,* within the grammatical focus of the past simple tense. She does so by making use of such focus-on-meaning metapragmatics (identified and labelled as "meaning-to-word mapping"). By reading out the expected sentence with the translated grammar form (i.e. *who* ***marschierte*** *first on the moon*), she provides a German translation of the verb and, with this focus-on-meaning vocabulary support, succeeds in eliciting the grammatically correct sentence from the class.

Finally, the data analysed has also revealed that there are lesson sequences where a shift to a focus-on-meaning metafloor (instead of remaining on a focus-on-form metafloor) may be the "easier" and more straightforward option for all participants involved. Extract (35) in chapter 5 showed that pupils, as in almost all classrooms observed, are somehow used to translating words or having words translated by their teacher (see p 133). Being asked about the past tense of the word *start* with an introductory phrase to a focus-on-form metafloor (*what do you think about this word started? .. you know the word start and now you see started .. what could it be?),* the pupil translates the word immediately. In other words, instead of giving an answer on the same metapragmatic level of form (e.g. *it is the past tense of start*), the pupil replies on the metapragmatic level of meaning. Undoubtedly, the format of translating phrases or words in class is well-known to pupils and therefore often their first reaction even if the question asked by the teacher may be intended to direct the class to a metapragmatic level of form.

With reference to the very same extract again (i.e. (35) in chapter 5), I would like to stress that the teacher himself initiates a focus-on-meaning metafloor before introducing the focus-on-form metalevel, as mentioned above. Considering the teacher's initial phrase *The Fire Started at the Baker's ..* ***can you translate this title****,* it is not surprising at all that a pupil later on in the same sequence moves back to that translation frame (**in bold above**). I would like to state that a stronger emphasis of focus-on-meaning sequences replacing a focus-on-form metalevel in grammar sequences can be found in both C-track classrooms of Stätten and Alpegg. This data

suggests that despite the overall dominance of focus-on-form metapragmatics in grammar sequences, a focus-on-meaning metalevel might be actively sought by both teachers and pupils. The data also shows that in classrooms where translations occur frequently (and this is especially pronounced in both C-track classes), pupils and teachers may move to a focus-on-meaning metafloor to clarify a grammar point on a vocabulary level.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that if pupils actively initiate a metapragmatic act themselves – and data shows that they do so very rarely – they almost exclusively move to a focus-on-meaning metafloor and ask for the translation of a certain word (i.e. *what's the meaning of...*or even in German *was heisst* …).

10.3 The Remaining Categories

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, I would like to put forward my theory on how the smaller categories, playing-on-word, norm-of-interaction and focus-on-function metapragmatics, can be linked to one another and especially also to the two bigger categories focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics discussed above.

Data has shown that especially a link can be established between norm-of-intereraction metapragmatics and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. As previously stated, if pupils initiate a metapragmatic floor in the classroom, they almost exclusively request the clarification of a word they do not know. This request on a metapragmatic level of meaning, is often carried out in German or Swiss German. As a result, teachers sometimes address the individual pupil or the whole class to remind them that English should be used. Thus, such follow-up, norm-of-interaction input by the teacher can be linked to the previous focus-on-meaning metasequence. This can be shown with extract (26), discussed in chapter 6 (see p 192). The teacher asks a pupil about the job of a fictional character in the course book story. The pupil does not have the word *tour guide* in his repertoire but, with his answer *he's the reiseleiter*, gives a correct response as well as indirectly requesting his teacher to provide him with the missing word (thus indirectly opening a focus-on-meaning metafloor). The teacher then does exactly what I have explained above; he adds a norm-of-interaction metapragmatic input, which is clearly triggered by the pupil's use of the word *reiseleiter (*i.e. *how is that in English)*. However, it must be stressed that this type of focus-on-meaning metapragmatics – if

initiated and carried out in German or Swiss German by the pupils – can only be linked to a language-specific norm of interaction (see chapter 8, i.e. 8.1 for the distinction between "language-specific" and "non-language-specific"). The non-language-specific norms of interaction, on the other hand, have occurred in my data in lesson stages that do not permit making claims about an apparent link to a focus-on-meaning or any other metapragmatic category.

Additionally, I would like to suggest an interrelationship between playing-on-word metapragmatics and one of the above-mentioned major metapragmatic categories, i.e. focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. The first link between the two categories should not be understood in the sense of co-occurrence in the classroom (this link will be established later on), but in fact be seen from a more global, ideological point of view. I explained in the analysis chapter 7 that in the majority of extracts labelled as containing playing-on-word metapragmatics, either teachers or pupils initiate such a metafloor by altering a word or a phrase and thus creating a shift in meaning. In other words, almost all playing-on-word sequences essentially originate from a certain focus on meaning. Nevertheless, whereas the labelled focus-on-meaning metapragmatic category deals with the clarification of a word or a meaning of a word in the first place, the shift in lexis in playing-on-word sequences is carried out as a means to an end. There is, in fact, no attempt at vocabulary clarification. In sum, the overall treatment of vocabulary and meaning differs between focus-on-meaning sequences and playing-on-word sequences. And yet, it can be seen as the common denominator between the two categories. Without developing this thought any further here nor having referred to it in the categorisation chapter 4, I have decided to keep the two categories apart and not include them into one category simply because their functions are so different.

Secondly, in the very few extracts found where teachers initiate a playing-on-word metafloor through a lexical shift, a link was observed to a focus-on-meaning metafloor, on the basis of co-occurrence. I explicitly referred to this link in the summary of chapter 7 already by making reference to extract (3) used in that analysis chapter. In his phrase *writing .. mit T .. riding heisst .. reiten .. du reitest nicht auf einer karte .. wenn du eine karte schreibst,* the teacher takes up a pupil's mispronounced word (i.e. *writing*), and only moves to a metapragmatic level of playing on words (i.e. *du reitest nicht auf einer karte*) after setting the scene through a focus-on-meaning input (i.e. *riding heisst reiten*). It must be stressed again that this combination again follows a grammar agenda, i.e. correct pronunciation in this case.

A final remark must be made with reference to the metapragmatic category playing on words. In chapter 7, I described one classroom in particular where pupils have been found playing with words by experimenting with the language in a certain way. I labelled this type of language play *–meaning shift* (i.e. minus meaning shift), i.e. pupils achieving a playful effect without producing a word and changing the meaning of it but by e.g. exaggerating intonation or pronouncing words incorrectly on purpose. A link between this type of playing-on-word metapragmatics and the metapragmatic category norms of interaction can be found especially for the C-track classroom of Alpegg. There, as pointed out above, such type of language play is quite frequent. In the two lessons in this classroom, the teacher does not distribute speaking rights strictly at all. On the contrary, pupils can virtually claim the floor without even raising their hands. In other words, there is a certain lack of norms of interaction, i.e. the non-language-specific ones, expressed by the teacher (identified and analysed in chapter 8, i.e. 8.3, pp 230ff). This absence of explicitly communicated rules of interaction, such as e.g. *you have to raise your hand in order to claim the floor,* can be linked directly to the abundance of pupils' experimenting with the language, labelled playing on words without a lexical shift. An example of this type of playing on words was analysed in extract (12) in chapter 7 (see p 216).

I have outlined the quantitative dominance of focus-on-form and focus-on-meaning sequences in 10.2. Additionally, I have also linked norm-of-interaction as well as playing-on-word metapragmatics especially to focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. However, I cannot provide any link of the identified category focus-on-function metapragmatics to any other category in my system. This is simply due to the fact that focus-on-function sequences are extremely rare in my data and, thus, no sweeping statements should be made about its relation to other categories.

10.4 Visualisation of Categories

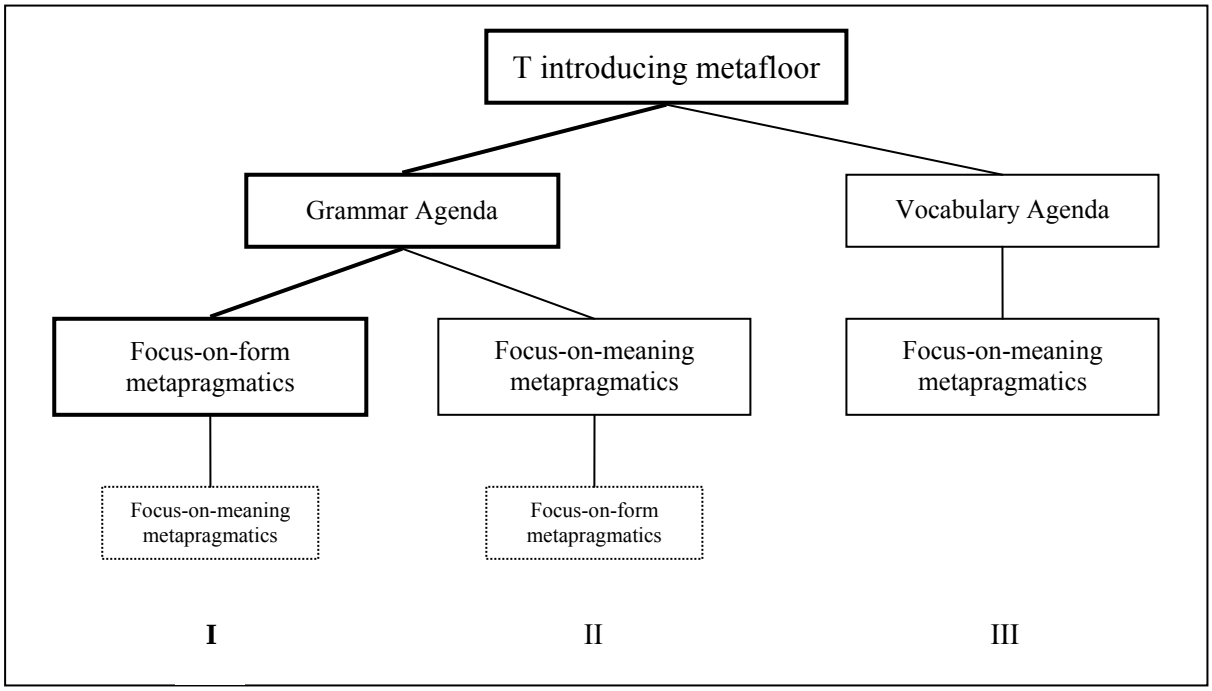

Figure 1: Hierarchy of metapragmatic categories (T-introduced)

Lesson focus on grammar (Grammar Agenda)

I: Default (i.e. 'standard') hierarchy: main metapragmatic floor → focus-on-form metapragmatics [T (=teacher) often neglecting focus-on-meaning metapragmatics, i.e. not correcting incorrect vocabulary]

II: Violation of Default hierarchy: main metapragmatic floor → focus-on-meaning metapragmatics [T checking on difficult vocabulary or explaining grammar through translations (very common) → i.e. focus-on-meaning metapragmatics]

Lesson focus on vocabulary (Vocabulary Agenda)

III: main metapragmatic floor → focus-on-meaning metapragmatics [T, in such vocabulary sequences, not initiating focus-on-form metapragmatics]

- Minor categories: T rarely introducing playing-on-word metapragmatics, norm-of-interaction metapragmatics and focus-on-function metapragmatics in sequences on grammar and vocabulary (not included above)
- Co-occurrence of playing-on-word metapragmatics (type +lexical shift) and focus-on-meaning metapragmatics (see p 259)

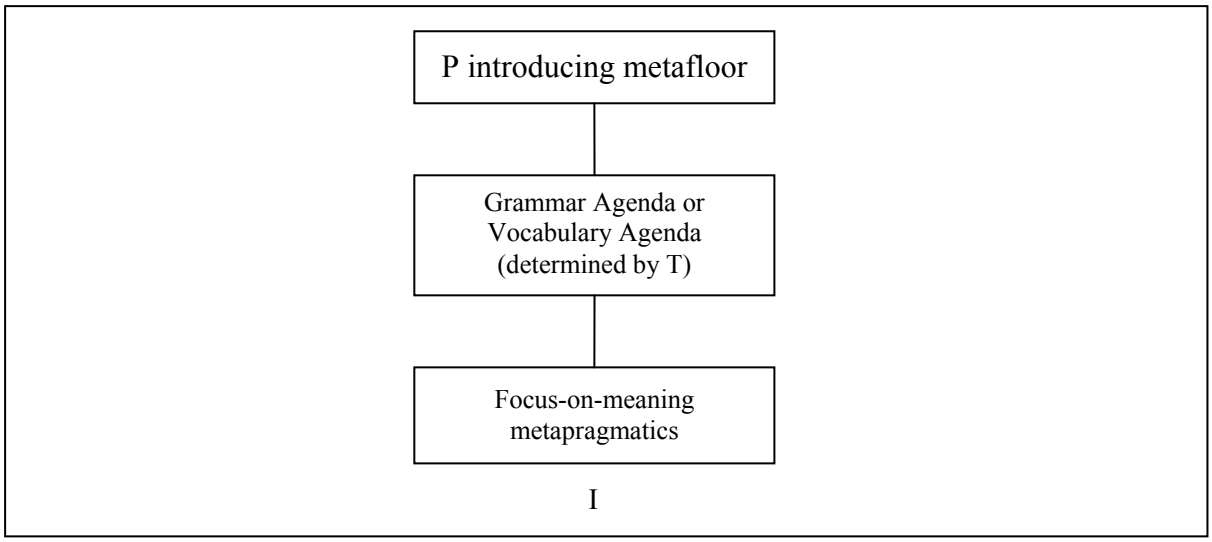

Figure 2: Hierarchy of metapragmatic categories (P-introduced)

Lesson focus on grammar or vocabulary (Grammar Agenda or Vocabulary Agenda)

I: main metapragmatic floor → focus-on-meaning metapragmatics [P (=pupil) only initiating focus-on-meaning metapragmatics, i.e. only asking about vocabulary, even if overall focus of the lesson is on grammar]

(T often with follow-up norm-of-interaction metapragmatics, reminding P to use English)

- Minor categories: P also introducing focus-on-function metapragmatics and playing-on-word metapragmatics (the latter only to each other)
- P not introducing norm-of-interaction metapragmatics

Chapter 11: Conclusion / Outlook / Further Research

11.1 Introduction

Having summarised the findings of the individual metapragmatic categories at the end of each analysis chapter (i.e. chapters 5-9), I have decided against providing an additional extended summary in this final chapter. Furthermore, chapter 10, i.e. "hierarchy of metapragmatic categories", also has a summarising element, allowing the reader to view the findings of each category in relation to each other.

Having said that, concluding remarks will be made in the following subchapter, i.e. 11.2, with reference to the four research questions presented in chapter 3 (see 3.4, pp 47ff). Furthermore, in 11.3, it will be my aim to restate the research approach taken in this study within the context of relevant literature.

Finally, I would like to suggest further research on the basis of the findings presented in this study. This important link to a potential continuation of this work's approach will be developed in the subchapter 11.4.

However, before proceeding to such concluding remarks, I would like to re-iterate the general approach taken to metapragmatics in the foreign language classroom (more detailed reference to the value of this study, as stated above, will be made in subchapter 11.3).

I have previously mentioned that metapragmatic negotiation in the classroom is viewed as a metalevel of discourse that participants in the classroom seek in order to discuss certain aspects of the first (i.e. propositional or content) level of discourse. Metapragmatic negotiation may thus be an exchange of ideas between the teacher and pupils, between pupils themselves, but equally remain rather one-sided as a teacher's input to the class without any response on such metalevel (see chapter 4 for detailed descriptions). It became clear that perfect understanding of each other on the metalevel cannot automatically be assumed. This is an aspect that I studied in my analysis of data as well and will address explicitly with reference to the research question 4 later in this chapter. In addition, this approach to metapragmatics in the classroom identified different stretches of discourse in class as metapragmatic, i.e. the metalevel sought has always been interpreted as having a purpose, i.e.

a function, in the communication between participants in the classroom. At first glance, this may sound rather trivial. Nevertheless, it helps to make an absolutely crucial distinction between studies referred to in chapter 3 (e.g. Basturkmen, Loewen and Ellis 2002), where the meta in the classroom was analysed by "cutting" the conversation into small "metalinguistic comments" that were not interpreted as having an immediately pragmatic function in the classroom context.

Pursuing an approach that sees metapragmatics in the classroom as co-constructed in a "joint effort" between participants in a conversation (unless there is teacher input without any pupil's reaction), I wish to add that breaking up into smaller elements what I defined as a metapragmatic unit (referred to here as metapragmatic acts, i.e. MPAs) does not support the analysis conducted in this study. In sum, metapragmatic acts must be seen as flexible units with respect to who initiates them and how they develop during the ongoing discourse in the classroom. After this short re-iteration of what lies at the heart of this research into metapragmatics, I would like to comment on the four research questions in the following section.

11.2 Conclusion with Reference to Research Questions

The first research question was formulated in chapter 3 as follows; what are the MPAs applied in the selected classroom settings? In other words, this research question focused on the functional categorisation of the above-mentioned metapragmatic stretches identified in the lessons. As previously stated, it must be emphasised that a bottom-up approach to the data (i.e. the categorisation system being developed as emerging from the data itself) was chosen for the following reasons. First of all, it helped me to answer the research question by defining my very own categorisation system. In addition, it provided this research with a tool for analysing the two sites and six classrooms (i.e. eleven lessons) in order to find answers to the remaining research questions as well (see below).

However, any description of the aforementioned categorisation system would be incomplete unless reference were made to the importance of a top-down component. In fact, Hübler and Bublitz' introductory chapter in *Metapragmatics in Use* (2007: 18) suggests a variety of pragmatic functions of metapragmatics in general (i.e. without a particular focus on the

classroom). Of these, the "instrumentalised" aspect "for re-inforcing a communicative norm" can be found in Ciliberti and Anderson's article in the same volume as metapragmatics for the purpose of socialising pupils and communicate "societal rules and norms of behaviour" (2007: 144). This normative function of metapragmatics has been adopted in my system and has become the category "norm-of-interaction metapragmatics".

Furthermore, data analysis has revealed that labelling metapragmatic acts according to their functions into functional categories of my system is not as straightforward as it may look. I have previously stated that the metapragmatic level (i.e. the function of metapragmatics applied) is a co-construction of participants addressing each other on that metalevel. Various lesson extracts have shown that the largely teacher-initiated metafloors first have to be understood by pupils as the metafloor the teacher has intended. This, at certain stages, requires pupils to apply considerable interpretative effort, which is why they undoubtedly co-construct the metafloors along with the teacher. Such alignment of communicative partners in class (also see research question 4, discussed together with research question 2 below) develops on a moment-by-moment basis, and is largely under the auspices of the teacher. In extract (1) below, used to introduce the playing-on-word metapragmatic category in chapter 4 (i.e. labelled (C3) there) and analysed at greater length in chapter 5 as extract (25), Ms Moser first adopts a focus-on-form metafloor being triggered by a pupil's mispronunciation of the month May.

(1)

Moser: what date is today what date is today? .. who can tell me? .. what date Salome?

Salome: the thirteenth ehm Mai (PRONOUNCED/Maɪ/)

Moser: **the thirteenth Mai? (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/) .. what is that? .. Michaela (WHO RAISES HER HAND)**

Michaela: the fourteenth of Mai (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/)

Moser: **the thirteenth of *Mai* (PRONOUNCED /Maɪ/) .. *mai mai* (SIBYLLE RAISES HER HAND AND MOSER SIGNALS NON-VERBALLY)**

Sibylle: May (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)

It becomes clear that Ms Moser's initiation of a focus-on-form metafloor (**in bold**) is not instantly understood as the intended metafloor (in fact a metafloor at all) by Salome. The teacher's reaction to Salome's mispronounced month of May is admittedly very vague (*what is that*, **in bold, too**). Only after moving to a metapragmatic level of language play (nota bene, in the interest of grammar explanation, **in bold**), does the teacher make another pupil co-construct successfully the metapragmatic level of form that the teacher has suggested at the beginning. This teacher-pupil alignment on the same metapragmatic level of form is complemented with another pupil's correct pronunciation of the month of May. In sum, metapragmatic efforts are requested from the pupils as well, even though they do not normally initiate the metafloor. In addition, this example has shown that a discussion may go on for a while and include different turns before interactants finally find themselves on the same metapragmatic level of discourse.

When pupils initiate a metapragmatic act, and data has shown that they rarely do so, a number of concluding comments are worth making. First of all, my data clearly shows that pupils rarely use only English when asking the teacher (sometimes even a classmate) a question, or simply talking about a subject beyond the first level of discourse. In fact, they often code-mix English and Swiss German or German, sometimes even code-switching to the latter two languages altogether. In addition, as classroom observation mainly recorded main floor conversations, i.e. conversations between the teacher and the class (or individual pupils), the lack of pupil-initiated focus-on-form metapragmatics allows for the following interpretation. If pupils want to have a grammar point clarified, they do not request such clarification in teacher-fronted classroom situations (i.e. when everybody is listening), but in fact rather ask the teacher off the main floor. In addition, as mentioned in the analysis and when discussing the hierarchy of metapragmatic categories in chapter 10, pupils mainly address the teacher about the clarification of vocabulary on the main floor in class. Extracts (41) and (42) in chapter 5 showed such pupil-initiated vocabulary requests (see p 145).

Having mentioned it above in passing, but in greater detail in the analysis, I would like to emphasise a key factor once more when discussing the results in this final chapter. As classroom interaction was finally made "analysable" by transcribing camcorder recordings with implications also stated elsewhere (e.g. see chapter 7, at the bottom of p 210), it should nevertheless be stated again in this conclusion that the recordings of my limited set of lessons mean that reliable statements can only be made about metapragmatic negotiation occurring on

the main floor. This is simply due to the fact that camcorder recordings targeted such frontal conversations. However, occasional recordings of off-stage conversations through the camcorder, as well as the complementing of such off-stage conversations with minidisc recordings, must, of course, nevertheless be seen as invaluable accounts of how metapragmatic discourse may unfold off the main floor (and I am deliberately using "may" to convey the idea that a glimpse of it may be caught in this study). This, of course, implies that there is scope for further research in a continuation of this work, a fact which I will address again later in this chapter.

Still focusing on my research question 1 (i.e. the functional categorisation of metapragmatics in the foreign language classroom), I would venture to add that the system presented has proved to be sound in terms of interrater reliability testing (see chapter 4, i.e. 4.2.6, pp 75-76). In addition, in the process of analysing classroom interaction at hand, a number of factors that influence this categorisation system emerged. As it is solely the teachers who organise classroom management and also mainly the teachers who direct conversations beyond the first level of discourse, it is not surprising at all that their influence on the metapragmatic discussions in class is immense. I will address the teachers' classroom organisation with reference to research questions 2 and 4 later in this chapter (i.e. contrastive look at both sites and focus on teacher-pupil understanding in class), but the importance of the teacher as the main influencing factor of metapragmatics analysed in this study must already be stressed at this point.

Furthermore, the analysis of some extracts has shown that the behaviour in class of both teachers and pupils was influenced by the situation of their being recorded. Extracts (6) and (7) in chapter 8 were salutary reminders that, indeed, both teachers and pupils knew exactly that what they said would be analysed in one way or another by the researchers sitting at the back of the classroom (see pp 224ff). In extract (6), I interpreted a pupil's remark to another pupil off the main floor (i.e. *you you've got to try to speak English .. somebody understand it .. baby boy*) as not just a comment made in class, but also as a specific reference to the researchers' analysis. Similarly, it is the teacher's request for a pupil to use English in extract (7) that may be interpreted as "staged", considering the fact that both the pupil's and the teacher's immediate reaction to such an exchange was laughter or at least amusement. And indeed, it may not be a coincidence that both extracts referred to revolve essentially around using the target language English in class. The teacher and the pupils are well aware of the

fact that in an English lesson, one is basically supposed to use only English, all the more so if researchers from Zurich University are sitting in the back row, and the red record light is flashing on two minidisc recorders as well as a camcorder.

Related to the general rule of using English in class, there is another constraining factor that I identified as affecting metapragmatic negotiation in the classroom. Data has shown that pupils' limited English sometimes has a detrimental effect on their willingness either to respond to a teacher's initiation of a metapragmatic level or initiate a metafloor themselves. This is the reason why metapragmatic negotiation is often reduced to a metapragmatic input by the teacher (unless the pupil switches to Swiss German or German or the teacher even initiates the metafloor in Swiss German or German as well). With two extracts analysed earlier, I briefly referred to such pupils' skill-related constraints. In extract (32) from chapter 6, a pupil lacks the vocabulary to say that her classmate was *modelling* and expresses this quite clearly (*I don't know how to say it,* see p 198). In chapter 8, extract (8), I described another sequence in class where a pupil, also because of her limited vocabulary, asks her teacher if she can use German to ask the question (*can I ask in German,* see p 226). In both extracts, pupils want to contribute to the discussion on the first level of classroom discourse and yet somehow struggle. It is not difficult to imagine, however, that pupils who do not want to switch to German or Swiss German (i.e. conforming to the rule of using English in class), certainly also have difficulty in addressing their teacher in English about a grammar topic they do not understand.

A link to chapter 3 can be established when metapragmatics is addressed in combination with language skills. In the field of research into metalanguage generally focusing on the "language knowledge of language teachers", I quoted Andrews (e.g. 2003), who coined the term "teacher language awareness". He described this term as consisting of two elements: the teacher's knowledge about language and the teacher's knowledge of language. I emphasised in chapter 3 already that in spite of his interesting suggestion as to what teacher knowledge is comprised of from a didactic perspective, it remains unsatisfyingly vague about the communicative manifestation in the classroom focused on in this study. Nevertheless – and this is where the common denominator can be found – I have identified language skills, too (Andrews' "knowledge of language") as a key factor determining metapragmatic negotiation of pupils and teachers in my classes. Not approaching my metapragmatic research from a per se didactic, i.e. teacher educational, point of view (as he does), I would nevertheless fully

agree with Andrews and his research as far as the importance of the teacher's language knowledge in class is concerned. However, I would like to add that, as mentioned above, the quality of metapragmatic exchange between teacher and pupils depends at least as much on the pupils' ability to express themselves in the target language.

Before dealing with research questions 2 and 4 in the last section of 11.2, I shall aim to focus on my very central research question 3; how is metapragmatic negotiation hierarchically organised in the classroom context? As the whole previous chapter dealt with this research question, I would just like to highlight a few central aspects again.

I argued that the terminology "hierarchy" carries the notion of quantity rather than importance. I referred to focus-on-form as the top category, to be followed by focus-on-meaning metapragmatics. This, however, only suggests that the teacher mainly addresses grammar metapragmatically, if vocabulary is not discussed in class. The categories less frequently found, i.e. playing-on-word, norm-of-interaction and focus-on-function metapragmatics, are certainly no less important simply because they are not as common as the two categories mentioned above.

What is certainly important is the distinction made clear in 10.4 (Visualisation of Categories), i.e. the distinction between a hierarchical structure according to whether it is the teacher or the pupil who actually initiates a metapragmatic act. As most of the metapragmatic acts in my data are teacher-initiated, such a teacher-initiated hierarchical structure and interrelationship between categories is much more detailed. It is in fact worth noting again that if a teacher initiates such a metapragmatic act, he/she not only predominantly moves to a focus-on-form metafloor, but uses other metafloors in the interest of grammar explanation as well (i.e. labelled focus-on-meaning or playing-on-word metapragmatics). A teacher's question *who marschierte first on the moon* (see extract (29) in chapter 6 and highlighted in chapter 11, too), clearly requests a pupil to come up with the past simple of *marschierte.* But it must be emphasised that the teacher supports the pupil's grammar task with a focus-on-meaning input (i.e. the translation of *walked*).

A last comment about the hierarchy element from a teacher's point of view links this passage to the last two research questions below. I have mentioned that the hierarchical system presented in this study must be understood as an attempt to link the metapragmatic categories to one another. The combination of different metapragmatic floors in class, however, very much depends on the individual teacher and his/her own way of making grammar, vocabulary, classroom norms, etc the main topic of discussion. As a result, the presented hierarchy of metapragmatic elements (i.e. the more detailed one of teacher-initiated metapragmatics), must be seen as a summary and simplification of how individual teachers in their very personal approach move to the different metafloors in class. A closer focus on what actually makes teachers approach metapragmatics in class differently and what this entails for the classroom interactions, will be referred to in the next section, again with reference to lesson extracts analysed in the previous chapters.

In so doing, I would like to state the two relevant research questions first; what are the differences of metapragmatics in operation at the two sites and three tracks observed (contrastive perspective, research question 2), and how do interactants manage to direct ongoing discourse to a metapragmatic level and how do those being addressed align themselves to such efforts (research question 4)?

Having previously touched on the importance of the role of teachers themselves when introducing metapragmatic negotiation in class, I wish to develop this notion in the next section in greater detail. Doing research at two different sites, I tried to answer research question 2 by identifying potential recurring patterns of metapragmatics in either Stätten or Alpegg. Quite clearly, however, such site-specific patterns could not be observed. It became clear that the teacher plays the dominant role in the organisation of speech in class. One could argue that this was to be expected. And in fact, in terms of organisation of speech and of classroom content (i.e. course book units, etc.) this is indeed true. However, it must not be automatically assumed that such teacher dominance (and this irrespective of whether the teacher is from Alpegg or Stätten) becomes even more pronounced when conversations go beyond the content as such and become metapragmatic (i.e. grammar, vocabulary, etc.). But I have shown that it is the teacher who mostly initiates a metafloor and remains in the driving seat, as it were, at any given time. I would like to support this central statement by making references to some extracts previously analysed.

In terms of setting up the classroom, i.e. "tuning it towards" a certain metafloor, I would like to refer back to extracts (2)-(4) in chapter 6 (see pp 165ff). In these examples, the teacher explicitly makes vocabulary practice the focal point in class and thus clearly influences the metalevel decisively; in fact, I explained in chapter 6 that such focus-on-meaning SUPER sequences (i.e. explicit vocabulary practice in class), boost metapragmatic focus-on-meaning negotiation, with pupils contributing actively as well.

In terms of classroom management, especially the C-track teacher in Stätten was found to influence one metapragmatic floor more than his colleagues in Stätten or the teachers in Alpegg. This again contributes to a very individual picture of metapragmatic negotiation compared with other teachers and thus stresses the importance of the teacher when identifying different metapragmatic practices in the classrooms (i.e. research question 2). Coming back to his particular way of classroom management, I explained in chapter 7, when analysing extract (12), that his lack of explicit distribution of speaking rights seems to trigger a certain type of playing-on-word metapragmatics more often. Without having to wait until being given the floor by the teacher to speak, two unidentified pupils in this extract simply play around with the language, something not seen in other classrooms (the "ing" form, i.e. the gerund, of take was the grammatical focus and the two pupils mention *took took* and *took a ting* without any apparent purpose apart from the sheer fun of juggling around with the language).

Having mentioned the set-up of the classroom, as well as a teacher's general classroom management as determining factors for metapragmatics in class (rather than the site or the academic track where metapragmatics occurs), I would like to address the importance of how a teacher organises a lesson from a didactic point of view. Without going into such pedagogical and didactic spheres extensively (this would actually be highly interesting for further research as well), I nevertheless wish to give an example in order to support my point. In chapter 5, extract (23), I described a teacher in Alpegg organising pronunciation practice in a way not found in any other class (see pp 112-113). Rather than correcting (at least some) pronunciation mistakes like most of the other teachers, Mr Schwaller identified potentially difficult words to pronounce and simply asked the whole class to repeat the words after him. In short, his didactic approach to teaching pronunciation proactively, i.e. insisting on correct pronunciation before pupils make mistakes, undoubtedly influenced his metapragmatic negotiation on pronunciation with his class. The importance of such a didactic component was already introduced by quoting Shulman (1986a, 1987) in chapter 3. I briefly referred to his

concept of "pedagogical content knowledge" in his studies of e.g. instructions teachers give to pupils in class (he does not particularly focus on metapragmatic negotiation). Back in chapter 3, I highlighted the importance of his conceptual broadening of the above-mentioned "teacher language awareness" described by Andrews (2003) with the idea that a teacher's classroom instructions are influenced by his/her didactic models and the pedagogical approach to teaching in class. In short, the data that I analysed indeed showed that Shulman's insistence on the didactic perspective when studying classroom instruction is justified. As this study has an applied perspective and focuses on metapragmatic manifestations in particular, such didactic components are identified and commented on but would have to be analysed in greater detail for reliable statements to be made with reference to metapragmatics in class (see further research section below).

Also dealing with the above-mentioned research question 4 (i.e. how do interactants manage to direct ongoing discourse to a metapragmatic level and how do those being addressed align themselves to such efforts), I would like to address the factors influencing metapragmatics in my classes. This will be with specific reference to the teacher's language level, his/her willingness to address and pick up on a grammar point and pupils' process of getting used to a certain metafloor and thus aligning themselves to it without a teacher being too explicit about it. First of all, data has indeed shown that a teacher's language level influences his/her willingness to address a grammar point. Especially one teacher's language skills were at some stages not exactly on an advanced level (i.e. B2 according to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*). Data showed that he more often than his colleagues avoided a grammar metaframe and instead resorted to a more surface metapragmatic negotiation by simply translating a word on a focus-on-meaning metalevel (i.e. *crossed? .. überquerte* rather than explaining to pupils that it is the past simple of the verb *cross*). This was, however, still done under the banner of grammar explanation, as it were.

Finally, it has been interesting to observe that sometimes pupils indeed base their understanding of a metalevel on their own experience and their past exposure to it by the teacher in class. In other words, perfect understanding of the teacher and the pupils on a metalevel is also based on assumptions of pupils as to what the subject matter under discussion could be. Often, pupils are very accurate in linking a teacher's unclear reference to a metafloor to similar past interactions in class. Such pupils' interpretative efforts in the process of understanding the teacher in class, could be found in extracts (20)-(22), analysed in

chapter 5 (see pp 106ff). After asking pupils to read some jokes and find out how to pronounce them in their smaller groups, the teacher requested each group to read out their joke in front of the class. Although one might argue that the teacher's reference to pupils' incorrect pronunciation, such as *could someone correct of the group there was also a word not correct,* might have been fairly obvious (see extract (21), **in bold**), it is still important to realise that the context is often absolutely crucial for a pupil to interpret an (in itself) unclear reference to a particular metafloor.

All in all, I have provided some relevant concluding remarks with reference to the four research questions established in chapter 3. I have previously stated that these comments must not been seen as comprehensive summaries of the analysis chapters but in fact an amalgam of summaries and final thoughts when reconsidering some answers found for the research questions. In the next passage, i.e. 11.3, I will link up with the research field by emphasising this study's contribution to the research community within the context of how metapragmatics has been understood and analysed.

11.3 Position within Literature / Contributions to the Field

I essentially argued for an applied linguistic perspective in chapters 3 and 4 when analysing the classroom material in discourse analytical tradition. Especially my approach to the transcribed lessons by systematically describing both lesson content and interaction as such (i.e. Bohnsack's "Formulierende Interpretation", described in chapter 4, pp 52-53), allowed me to see metapragmatics tightly embedded in the classroom content. In addition, it also helped in distinguishing between interaction taking place on the first level of discourse and interaction which is on a more contemplative, i.e. metalevel of interaction.

Furthermore, I approached initial transcript material by studying how teachers and pupils manage to communicate with each other successfully. I therefore interpreted their efforts in the classroom from a discourse pragmatic point of view. In essence, I asked myself how they apply their linguistic resources as a means to an end, in order to understand each other in class. After having been able to distinguish and label the two levels of interaction (i.e. propositional and metalevel described in the previous paragraph), and keeping the pragmatic

perspective of classroom interaction described here, I was ready to ponder over what the metapragmatic in my data actually entails.

Despite the fact that especially Hübler and Bublitz in *Metapragmatics in Use* (2007) greatly influenced the above-mentioned approach to what pragmatics and metapragmatics consist of in ongoing discourse (see quote in chapter 3, p 37, i.e. an investigation "how interactants actually employ meta-utterances to intervene in ongoing discourse"), what metapragmatics consists of in the classroom context, still had to be spelt out. From this point of view, I would like to emphasise that it was especially the lack of research in Hübler and Bublitz' above-mentioned research tradition with reference to classroom interaction in foreign language classrooms that represented the challenge in this study. Taking up the quote above once more, I realised that the essential question to be answered at that early stage of my research was not so much how interactants employ meta-utterances but, in fact, how to define these meta-utterances and how to set them apart from non-meta-utterances.

The development of my categorisation system from the data as such and without a somehow prefabricated system at hand, can therefore be seen as the major contribution to the research field into metapragmatics initiated by Hübler and Bublitz. Thus, the framework of analysis (i.e. 4.2, pp 54ff) and my suggestion of a hierarchical system are the two elements that complement research into metapragmatics. Both suggest that a careful distinction should be made between pragmatics and metapragmatics in foreign language classrooms.

In addition, it is not surprising that such initial steps into metapragmatics in a Swiss language-lesson context (English as a foreign language at Swiss secondary schools), triggers additional research questions. I would venture to suggest that these additional questions must be considered as important as the close research into metapragmatics described in this study. Consequently, the next passage, i.e. 11.4, can be seen as an important contribution to the research field as well. It is hoped that some of these areas of research will be examined closely in the near future.

11.4 Further Research

The factors identified above as influencing metapragmatics in the classroom (especially the importance of the teacher) certainly have far-reaching consequences on further research. In addition, the deliberately narrow perspective of classroom analysis adopted in this study can, and indeed, must be broadened in the future. Nevertheless, before suggesting potential areas of research that offer a broader linguistic approach to classroom data, I would like to propose an extension to this research setting within the same, i.e. narrow, analysis of classroom interaction.

I have previously mentioned that transcription work on the basis of the camcorder recordings meant that reliable statements could be made about discussions occurring between the teacher and the class as a whole (i.e. frontal teaching). Off-stage conversations between individual pupils or pupils and their teacher were only recorded if they took place close to the camcorder (positioned on a tripod in the corner of the room). As a result, the picture of metapragmatics suggested in this study, depends heavily on the "performance" of the teacher. Without suggesting that this is a "distorted" representation of classroom reality (as a considerable part of all lessons observed were indeed taught by the teachers head-on, so to speak), I wish to add that such picture should be complemented with a closer focus on conversations off the main floor. And indeed, some thought could be given as to how to record such conversations more systematically than I did in this study. Clearly, using movable electronic devices (within the larger NFP project, we used two minidisc recorders and placed them in front of e.g. groups working in the background) failed to record off-stage conversations systematically enough. When listening to the recordings, I noticed that the devices were actually often moved when conversations became really interesting. As researchers in this study remained in the background as unobtrusive as possible, it was of course impossible to anticipate how long to keep a device in one particular place. In short, I would suggest a different technical set-up in order to record background conversations.

It would make more sense to choose a few pupils and equip them with collar microphones. It could be a random choice of pupils, although I would make an effort to identify active and passive pupils after observing classroom dynamics closely. In addition, it must be stressed that the pupils would have to feel comfortable about being recorded as such and a special effort would be required to make it explicit that data would be anonymous. The use of minidisc recorders in the present study has shown that pupils may exaggerate their speech

occasionally but that this effect becomes less pronounced once they get used to the device and they almost cease to be aware of being recorded after a while. For the analysis, one would of course have to bear in mind that it would not be possible to confidently determine who the pupil with the collar microphone was addressing at any given time (as audio recordings simply do not allow this). Nevertheless, analysing some individual pupils' conversations would certainly make it possible to present a picture of metapragmatics off the main floor more completely. It should not be forgotten, however, that many more highly interesting aspects would become available for study within such a set-up (not necessarily dealing with metapragmatics). A particularly interesting additional question would be how and how often pupils switch from classroom topics to off-subject topics and how they communicate such changes to one another (extract (9) in chapter 7, p 213, is only one example that shows that off-subject statements, largely recorded incompletely in this study, would be highly interesting to analyse as well). In sum, the study of metapragmatics presented here could be complemented with a selected number of case studies of individual pupils and their organisation of (metapragmatic) speech outside the main conversational floor.

In a next step – and I would contend that this would draw on the findings and the established metapragmatic categorisation developed in this study – one could extend the analysis by contextualising metapragmatics of teachers and pupils with additional data. This could be done by asking teachers and pupils to comment on their use of metapragmatics in class. In post-lesson analyses, selected classroom interactions could be played again and participants could comment on the reasons for introducing certain metapragmatic floors. Additionally, they could address some misunderstandings between the pupils und the teacher with reference to what the subject of discussion actually was (i.e. metalevel or propositional content level, see 5.4.3, pp 120ff, for potentially unclear metafloors). In fact, I personally would be highly interested in finding out what reasons the C-track teacher in Alpegg would give for favouring focus-on-meaning metapragmatics over focus-on-form metapragmatics when simply translating a word (e.g. *crossed heisst überquerte*) rather than moving to a metalevel and explaining the past simple as the actual grammar focus of the lesson. Such a feedback loop could also be established by showing participants transcribed classroom sequences and asking them to comment in written form (questionnaire type). However, addressing teachers and pupils in interviews, after playing relevant passages to them, would certainly trigger a discussion that adds to the merit of such interview data. This type of feedback discussion of classroom talk has indeed been done before. I actually referred to Borg (1998) in chapter 3,

who studied the rationale behind the application of teacher talk in the classroom through interviews where teachers commented on their instructional decisions in the classroom. They even had the opportunity to read through the transcribed interview and provide their final thoughts on it. In sum, such feedback loop would be highly intriguing in my setting, too, but I would suggest that it would have to encompass the opportunity for both teacher and pupils to comment on their use of metapragmatics in class.

Within such an interview setting of collecting contextual material of metapragmatic negotiation in the classroom, the above-mentioned focus on didactic considerations of teachers (see 11.2 with reference to Shulman and Andrews) could be addressed as well. Personal ideas and assumptions as to how grammar and vocabulary should be taught and how e.g. pupils' own experiences should be integrated in the classroom (i.e. as one aspect of propositional content level of discourse), would make metapragmatic analysis in class much more three-dimensional. In addition, it might be interesting to connect individual teachers' tendencies towards the initiation of certain metapragmatic floors with the importance they attach to metapragmatic negotiation, and this within the previously mentioned didactic understanding of how to teach a foreign language.

Finally, I would like to address two more aspects. One clearly surfaced in the analysis as an important element to be studied in greater detail; the other aspect would again broaden the narrow focus of metapragmatics in this study by including additional material of participants in the classroom. The previously mentioned tendency of one teacher in particular to move to focus-on-meaning metafloors more often than others, and this under the banner of grammar explanation, made me speculate over a possible connection between his (weaker) oral skills and the applying of certain metapragmatic acts. Additionally, if a closer focus on pupils with reference to their use of metapragmatic elements in the classroom is to be pursued (see suggested further research above), such a link to the language skills could be extended to pupils as well.

The last suggestion with regard to building on the present research broadens the field of applied and narrow discourse orientation with a more sociolinguistic direction. The literature quoted in chapter 3 within the sociolinguistic field, however, still remains too far away from what is suggested here (e.g. Jaworski, Coupland and Galasinski 1998). I would like to propose a combination of close research into the use of metapragmatics by teachers and pupils (as

done in this study) with careful considerations about how such classroom discourse is influenced by the power factor. Such focus would certainly bring to the fore one of my metapragmatic categories in particular: norm-of-interaction metapragmatics. When introducing this category in chapter 4 (see pp 71ff), I already quoted Ciliberti and Anderson (2007: 145-146), who maintain that in this context, metapragmatics "serves to establish, maintain and modify the disciplinary, participatory, instructional and intertextual frames on which this understanding is based". The combination of how teachers interpret their roles from this disciplinary point of view (i.e. their perception of authority as teachers) and the manifestations of such authority in metapragmatic terms, would be a highly interesting research focus, which would again complement the findings in this study.

In conclusion, in terms of further research, I have suggested certain possible directions. Off-stage conversations with a close focus on metapragmatics would certainly have to be studied in greater detail as well before the narrow linguistic focus was broadened. The next step would then be the collection and analysis of contextual data of teachers and pupils in order to link their use of metapragmatics in class to elements of self-reflection on e.g. didactic considerations, to language skills or power relations in class. It is therefore suggested here that the triangulation of classroom observations should be achieved by moving the teachers and the pupils more into the centre in terms of their thoughts about, and reactions to, their own use of metapragmatics in class.

11.5 Final Remarks

I would like to add a few concluding thoughts related to this study being embedded in a larger NFP research project (also see chapter 2, i.e. 2.3, pp 16-17). Being a research associate in this project undoubtedly had implications with reference to my own project and research described here. In retrospect, it is highly interesting to analyse the process of defining my own research focus and understanding of metapragmatics within the context of ongoing classroom discourse. It was actually only after the data was collected and the English lessons at secondary school were recorded that I was able to link the different interactional floors observed to my understanding of metapragmatics in the above-mentioned communicative context defined by Hübler and Bublitz (2007). When studying field notes taken during classroom observation, however, I noticed that most of my comments revolved around the

distinction between course book content / pupils' own experiences brought into the classroom and grammar or vocabulary as the more or less explicitly communicated aim of the lessons. Using the rather collective label "layers of discourse" in this early process of interpreting the interactions recorded in the classes, I am pleasantly surprised at how closely the different "layers" actually come to the categorisation system I explicitly defined and labelled much later. However, the literature that I linked to such layers – which I noticed in a step-by-step process of matching data to relevant research available – initially lacked the communicative element in the classroom altogether. The reference to Goffman's *Frame Analysis* (1974) was an early attempt to come to terms with the different layers of interaction found in the classrooms. However, I realised at some stage later that his understanding of frames, i.e., in essence, some cognitive structures on how to interpret certain interactions and guiding people in their perception of reality, lacked the close focus on what linguistic tools people use actively to achieve a pragmatic effect. Goffman would possibly label the interaction in the classes with the "classroom frame" and interpret participants' interactions based on their cognitive theories of how classroom interaction should function and develop. In short, the lack of clearly definable linguistic elements used, led me to move away from Goffman's theoretical understanding of identifying interaction through frames.

In addition, I particularly focused on instances of code-switching and code-mixing at a very early stage of data analysis. In other words, I regularly noted pupils' switches especially to Swiss German, when observing classes, and also noted when teachers applied Standard German or Swiss German in instructions or explanations given to the class. Again, in the process of identifying the larger pattern of metapragmatics (where indeed certain recurring uses of different codes were identified), I was able to interpret code-specific observations within the discourse pragmatic framework as well. Thus, I moved away from various sources of close descriptions of code-switching for certain reasons. Most of these studies analyse the selection of codes as an intentional action to organise speech and ultimately seek a pragmatic effect in conversations (some even focusing on the classroom setting). However, the link to a metapragmatic level and the interpretation of such code-selection as tightly embedded in the discourse organisation of speech into first and metapragmatic floors of interaction, has not been established at all (see e.g. Auer 1998 or Wei 2005).

All in all then, I would like to state that the metapragmatic floors were identified right from the start. However, it took me a while to develop such initial observations (two out of many more areas are listed above with reference to Goffman's frame analysis and Auer or Wei's approach to code-switching) into the categorisation system of metapragmatics presented in this study. The contents of an informally held electronic document with the minutes of every meeting with colleagues, supervisors or project leaders etc., every thought on the categorisation of my data and additional comments about the interpretation of data, went on to exceed those of the longest chapter in this study. This in itself gives some indication of what is entailed in the crucial process of developing one's thoughts carefully and systematically throughout the research period.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

The following table summarises the elements represented in my transcriptions, which I have based on the account on discourse transcription of John Du Bois et al. (1992: 12ff). In order to meet the requirements for my discussion of the sequences chosen, I have adapted and modified the features where appropriate. The main difference is that I have chosen the speech acts as the main blocks of my extracts, whereas Du Bois and his colleagues structure their transcriptions into what they call "an intonation unit" as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour" (1992: 16). A speech act in my case (i.e. essentially a speaker's turn in the ongoing discourse), is not defined through the intonation of the person producing it and may well consist of more than one "intonation unit" of Du Bois et al. However, as I was focusing on the communicative development of teacher-pupil (or pupil-pupil) interaction in class, cutting individual turns down to smaller chunks would have had no beneficial effect on my analysis. In addition, as successful interaction on a metalevel very much depends on the alignment of participants in their communicative exchange, I have decided that individual turns (sometimes quite long, sometimes consisting of one word only) should represent my smallest units. These are labelled "speech acts" (SA) in the table below.

As can be seen below, I have chosen a fairly broad way of transcribing my sequences (also see Du Bois et al. 1992: 14). However, as stated above, for my research into metapragmatics, any more detailed transcription would not have yielded more relevant material for my discussion. On the contrary, I would like to argue that distinguishing elements within a person's turn in ongoing discourse, would have shifted the focus away from my main interest, i.e. interactants' turn-taking on both the propositional and metapragmatic level of discourse.

Feature	**{Visual Representation}**	**Example**
Speech Act (SA)	{carriage return} i.e. space indicating a new speech act	Keller: famous yes do you understand the word famous? (space) Fatlum: berühmt
Speaker	{colon} : preceded by surname for teacher and first name for pupil	see above
SA Overlap	{square brackets} [ ]	Nico: was isch mit six months [gmeint?] Grell: [six months?]
Pause	{full stops} ..(.) i.e. two or three full stops depending on pause duration	Stocker: crossed .. where is it? … ah crossed
Truncated Word Truncated Sequence	{one hyphen} - {two hyphens} --	Sieber: wie heisst es auf e -? Fatlum: no that's --
Stress	{*Italics*}	Moser: what was *she* doing?
Lengthening	{equal sign} =	Adrian: a=h
Additional Comment	{round brackets} ( )	Moser: escape (CORRECT PRONUNCIATION)
Unclear Passage	{<u>underlined</u>}	Gwendolin: she's <u>a super</u> sweety girl
Metapragmatics (or, rarely, highlighted passage on the propositional level being discussed)	{**bold**}	Sibylle: **I don't know how to say it**

Table 10: Transcription conventions

I would like to make a few additional comments about the transcription conventions. Unidentified pupils were labelled Px1, Px2, Px3, etc., in a given extract. Occasionally, the class responded as a whole (e.g. chorus repetition or laughing) and was thus given the label Ps (i.e. pupils). As classroom conversations were transcribed using camcorder recordings and the camcorder frame did not provide visual recordings of all participants in the class, some pupils (whose oral contributions were indeed recorded and analysed) remained unidentified. However, as analysis primarily focused on discourse in class, and additional demographic information of participants (which was available) was not included in the analysis, any occasional inability to assign a name to a pupil's speech act did not, I feel, have any detrimental effect on my analysis.

As a considerable amount of speech recorded actually took place in German or Swiss German, I decided to make transcriptions consistently lower case. In so doing, there is consistency between speech acts in English (lower case anyway) and speech acts in German or Swiss German. Capitalisation was used very rarely (e.g. people's names, places, etc).

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